Volume 29, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1940

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Communications on general ASSOCIATION matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

Volume 29, No. 2 Autumn Number, 1940

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SPRING MEETING FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE following account is reprinted from *The Friend* (Philadelphia) for Fifth Month 30, 1940, page 431:

The 1940 spring meeting of the Friends' Historical Association was held in the Greenwood and on the south lawn of Westtown School, on Seventh-day afternoon, Fifth Month 18. The invitation had been adorned with three charming illustrations—the Meeting House, the Old Building (pulled down over fifty years ago to make way for the present main building), and a corner of the School as it now stands; and had stirred a wholesome desire in old scholars, and a lively interest in others, to see the beauties which Westtown can offer to the spring visitor. The Association holds its spring meetings, weather permitting, out of doors, and chooses places of interest in Quaker history within motoring distance of Philadelphia; and it was natural that Westtown, now one hundred and forty-one years old, should be chosen, and that its local history should be explored.

President William W. Comfort, in his introductory remarks, referred to one advantage which history has over prophecy as the subject of study—it is at least certain; and passed to the obvious conclusion the Association really ought to have a larger membership (at only $2.00 a year). Robert J. Leach, at present a student at Pendle Hill, made a brief announcement of plans for saving the old Ohio Yearly Meeting House at Mount Pleasant from decay, giving an illuminating outline of the function of the meeting in the development of Quakerism as a national rather than an eastern movement. James F. Walker, Principal of the School, extended to the meeting a graceful welcome—a welcome which was implemented in detail through the arrangements made by the local hospitality committee under the chairmanship of Alice B. Walker.

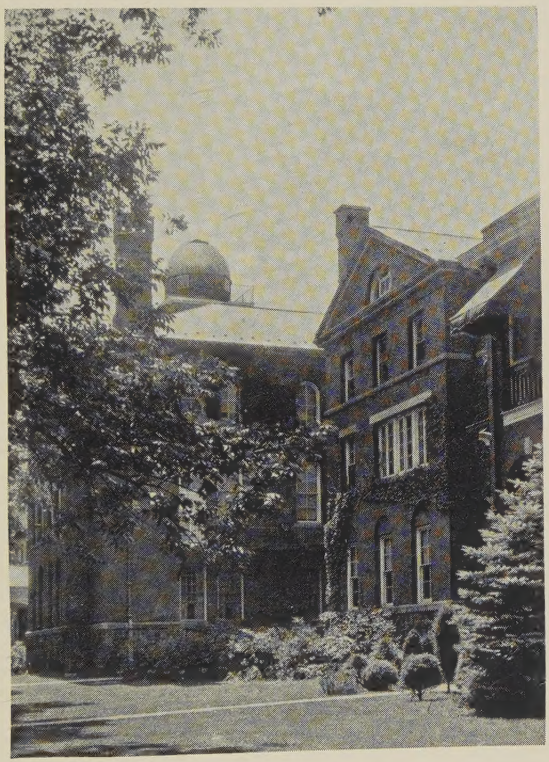
The first of the formal papers was by Helen G. Hole, who has been occupied for some time in preparing materials for a new history of the School, and gave us some of the interesting and

homely details which her search into contemporary letters and other documents had yielded. She spoke especially of three great personalities in the history of the School—Enoch Lewis, a skilful and inspiring teacher, whose scholarship was brilliant and whose qualities of leadership left a deep impress on the community and gave rise to a whole series of spiritual descendants from among his pupils; Davis Reece, for twenty-eight years dean of boys, with an uncanny sense for anticipating trouble, a manner of inspiring respect and affection even in the boys who transgressed, and an interest in nature study that has been kept alive in the School till today; and William Evans, a member of the Committee and treasurer from 1800 till 1841, whose devoted and detailed service to the School was sandwiched between long religious journeys and much other public labor. President Comfort spoke afterward of the blessing the School had enjoyed in the loyal help of such men—and rejoiced that it was apparently still able to command it from their successors.

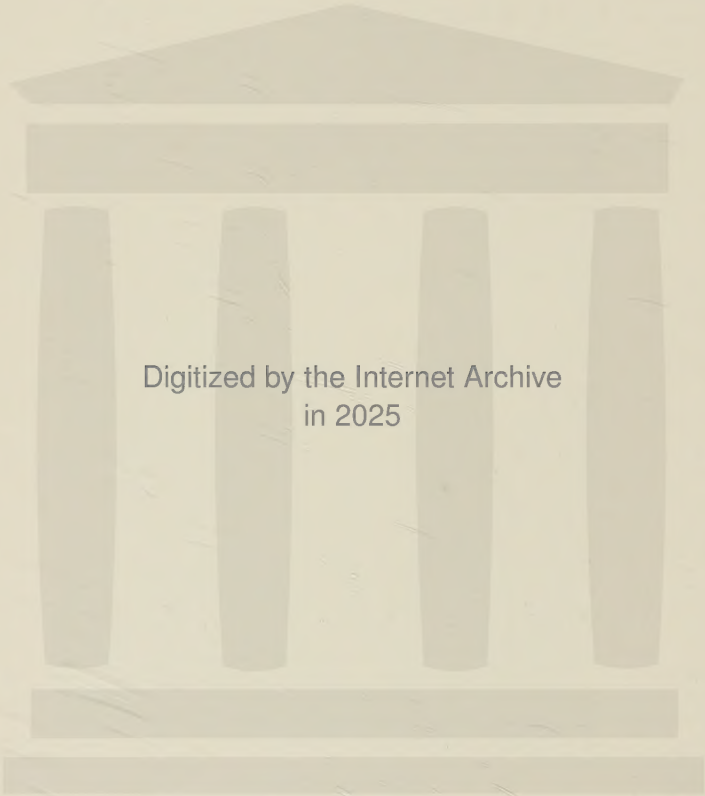
Susanna Smedley next read a paper on the new Treasure Room, constructed during the summer of 1938, largely through the interest and support of William B. Bell. In speaking of the treasures she gave a very lively picture of the past from which the treasures have survived. Perhaps the best evidence of the skill shown in displaying them lay in the story that the watchman, coming into the Treasure Room at night after two lay figures in old Quaker costume had been set up, promptly challenged their presence there, and was beaten to a retreat by the placid Quaker silence with which they received his challenge. She drew attention also to the splendid collection of birds mounted in reproductions of their natural habitat, which has been growing under the hands of John D. Carter till it is one of the outstanding collections in the State.

From the Greenwood the meeting adjourned to the south lawn, where chairs had been provided and coffee and ice cream were served by girls of the School as the members ate their box suppers. Many were grateful that the ice cream was served at a temperature at which it was practicable to eat it. There was much of historic interest in the meeting and in the School; and there was also the delightful opportunity for cheerful social intercourse, in a charming setting, which the spring meetings of the Association always provide.

T. K. B.



Westtown School
A Wing of the Present Building



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WHITTIER'S LETTERS TO ANN ELIZABETH WENDELL

THE GENERAL VALUE of these letters to all readers depends on their knowing about "A. E. W." and her friendship with Whittier. Ann Elizabeth Wendell (1810-1908) was the daughter of Isaac Wendell and Anna Austin Whittier, the poet Whittier's first cousin. Ann (A. E. W.), although of the generation after the poet's, was his junior by less than three years. From her youth she suffered from spinal trouble, which kept her something of an invalid throughout her long life of over ninety-seven years. Her early home was at 217 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia, but her father had also a country place at La Grange, near Bustleton, where he owned a calico-printing mill. Ann was a member of the Orange Street Meeting and a close friend of two of the most brilliant and talented Quakeresses of Philadelphia, Elizabeth Lloyd and Elizabeth Nicholson. She derived great satisfaction from her extensive correspondence with friends and relatives including Whittier. He always remembered as among the happiest times of his life the days he had spent with the Wendells in the late 1830's and 1840; for the next fifty years he showed tender solicitude in his letters to Ann. Of his extant letters to her, a few have been published after a fashion by Pickard and other biographers; but the sixteen letters printed below are for the most part hitherto unpublished. These letters often refer to other members of Ann's family circle: her parents, her brother Isaac and his wife Mary; her younger sister, Margaret, who married Elisha P. Maule; and her youngest brother, Evert, and his wife, Abigail, who is referred to as "Abbie" or "Abby." During the last years of her long life Ann Elizabeth Wendell was cared for by the last-mentioned of these, Evert, whose daughter, Mrs. Hess, still recalls with pleasure the last years of A. E. W.'s long life.

The general value of these letters thus becomes clear; but there are half a dozen special features which will appeal respectively to readers interested in the various aspects of Whittier's many-sided life, as indicated in the six brief paragraphs which follow immediately.

The *biographical material* is of value in showing precisely where Whittier is at certain times, what he has been doing, and what are his special interests at the moment of writing each letter.

The *romantic interest* lies in his frequent messages to Elizabeth Lloyd and Elizabeth Nicholson, to whom he repeatedly sends messages through his cousin A. E. W. Note especially Letter II.

The *political significance* of the letters, not very great, is to be found especially in numbers V and VII, which throw light on his dedication to the cause of Abolition.

The *religious and theological value* of this correspondence is considerable, as is evident from a perusal of the letters as a whole. Number VI, however, is crucial as expressing in his most vigorous prose his prophetic ideas of the future of Christendom during the two following centuries, and as anticipating the great religious poems which he found time to write after the end of the Civil War.

Whittier's character, in so far as he understands himself, is revealed with singular clarity in portions of letters II, V, VII, VIII (last half), and X.

Whittier's friends, as referred to in these letters, are the substantial and influential Quakers whose direct or collateral descendants of the first and second generations following are presumably among the readers of the letters now published.

Key to Friends and Relatives Most Frequently Mentioned

Whittier's more obscure friends can usually be identified by reference to Samuel T. Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier*, 2 vols., Boston 1894, or Charles Collyer Whittier, *Descendants of Thomas Whittier and Ruth Green*, Rutland, Vermont, 1937. The following names occur so frequently that it is important to explain them by brief comments.

Allinson, William J. Distinguished and influential Quaker of Philadelphia. Strong supporter of Whittier. (For details, see Pickard's *Life* or any good treatise on Philadelphia Quakers of the mid-nineteenth century.)

Cartland, Gertrude W., the poet's cousin once removed; Joseph, her husband; and Moses A., who took over Whittier's Abolition work in Philadelphia. All called "cousins." The Cartlands kept in touch with Whittier, decade after decade. For his special friendship with Gertrude, see the Preface to Pickard's *Life*, p. vi.

Edwards, Emma. One of A. E. W.'s closest friends.

Gurney, J. J. Quaker Abolitionist, influential on the poet's early life.

Lloyd, Elizabeth (referred to throughout these letters as "E. L.", and probably referred to in important Letter II as "E."). A brilliant, beautiful young woman, gifted in both poetry and painting, to whom Whittier was strongly attracted. His romantic attachment is best revealed in *Whittier's Unknown Romance*, edited by Marie V. Denervaud, 1922, and in *Elizabeth Lloyd and the Whittiers*, edited by Thomas Franklin Currier, 1939. (For further details relating to her and to Elizabeth Nicholson see my article in *The Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. 62, no. 2, April 1938.)

Letter II in this collection, which is crucial, explains the poet's reasons for not wishing—or daring—to marry "E"—probably Elizabeth Lloyd. (If any reader thinks that "E" was Elizabeth Nicholson, the editor of these letters will be glad to explain in detail his reasons for objecting to that hypothesis.)

Johnson (and Woodman). Caroline Cartland Johnson, Mary Johnson, and Mrs. Abby Johnson Woodman all resided at Oak Knoll. (For details see Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *John Greenleaf Whittier*, New York, Macmillan, 1902, p. 180, and S. T. Pickard, *Whittier-Land*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1904, p. 101.)

Nicholson, Elizabeth. Talented friend of the Whittiers and the Lloyds. A brilliant, outspoken woman. (For details see the sources referred to under *Lloyd*, above.)

Pitman, Harriet Minot. Mrs. Pitman, daughter of Judge Minot, was a lifelong friend of the Whittiers. (See Francis H. Underwood, *John Greenleaf Whittier, A Biography*, Boston 1884, p. 75.)

Smith, Gideon C. He married the poet's cousin, Mary Whittier, born 1800, daughter of Obadiah Whittier, who was the brother of Whittier's father, John.

Sturge, Joseph. A wealthy and influential English Quaker Abolitionist. (For details see Pickard's *Life*.)

Whittier, Elizabeth. The poet's sister (1815-1864), referred to in the early letters, must not be confused with his niece, born in 1845, who kept house for the poet prior to her marriage to Samuel T. Pickard.

Woodman (see Johnson above).

Whittier's prose style, as revealed in the best of the letters printed below, is rapid, uninhibited, and (if the final word of this statement be not taken too flippantly) racy. Letter V, for instance, was published in Pickard's Life (pp. 276-277) in a fashion so abbreviated, garbled, and bowdlerized as to make comparison with the original, as reproduced below *verbatim et literatim*, both illuminating and amusing; the original shows Whittier's sensible, outspoken views on long engagements, while the bowdlerized transcription by Pickard, omitting everything spicy, shows little of Whittier, but a great deal of the biographer's Victorian prudishness.

Whittier's handwriting as it appears in these letters (each of which has now been transcribed from and collated with an autograph letter signed) varies from good to very bad, without any reference to his age at the time of writing. When he has only a little to say, plenty of paper on which to write, plenty of time, and a good point on the nib of his pen, he writes a large hand, easy to read. But when he has to get along without any one, two, three, or four of these factors, his writing slumps to such an

extent that it can be read only with the aid of a reading glass and, even then, only according to context and by comparison with the appearance of similar scrawls and flourishes in other letters not quite so illegible. Accordingly it must be understood that not every phrase, word, and mark of punctuation in the following pages is guaranteed to be accurate. On the other hand, the editor of these letters vouches that most of the readings are completely accurate; that where a word has been doubtful he has indicated the fact by the usual editorial symbol [?], and that where a word is completely illegible no transcription has been attempted, but the usual asterisks [* * *] have been used.

This editorial policy, although subjecting Whittier to having his occasional colloquialisms and anacolutha reproduced without editorial softening, does nevertheless show us the real Whittier—who often wrote to his cousin at top speed, under such pressure of Abolition activities that he had no time to read over what he had written.

EDWARD D. SNYDER

Haverford College

THE LETTERS

For permission to publish these letters, thanks are due to the owners of the MSS, Mrs. Margaret Wendell Hess and Mrs. C. M. Allam; for editorial assistance, to Mrs. Carl Allendoerfer and Miss Dorothy Allam.

E. D. S.

LETTER I[1]

La Grange 7th day Eve [1838?]

Dear Cousin Ann.

I had half a mind to come in this afternoon for the purpose of seeing J. J. Gurney—but have concluded to stop—I was foolish enough to walk myself into a heat and then ride with the carriage open to La Grange and the consequence is a sore throat, and headache, and other attendants of a severe cold. The country here is beautiful. La Grange is quite picturesque and full of rural beauty and comfort. This morning we went up the river to the Great Rock—a wild and impetuous freak of Nature, who as a general thing in Eastern Pennsylvania has been staid, sober

[1] Whittier did not give any year for the first letter, but the year (1838) was added in ink of a different color and presumably by another hand. A. E. W. preserved these letters so carefully that it is fair to assume that the addition is by her and that it is correct.—E. D. S.

and Quaker-like. Cousin Mary thought I would do well to jump off the Rock into the Pennypack, as the crag is denominated *"The Lover's Leap"*

Tell Margaret we have wished her and her *elevated* friend here very much.

What a pity thee can't come here as easily as thee can step into Paul Newhalls or Emma Edwards'! Thee would enjoy this beautiful retirement and this delightful weather.

In haste

J. G. W.

LETTER II

Portland, Me., 24th, 7th mo. 1840

Dear Cousin Ann,

I wrote thee a hasty line by a friend on his way to Philada, just before leaving Amesbury, and I now trouble thee with another, mainly for the purpose of sending thee a copy of some lines on the death of Danl. Wheeler. I can say nothing for the poetry—as poetry—It was the idea and sentiment rather than the harmony of versification, and originality of language, which I was solicitous about. I am very anxious to hear from Isaac in regard to his health—although I cannot but believe that he is better. My own remains much as when I was with you. What the final event of it may be I cannot conjecture: my great solicitude is that I may be in that state of mind which feels truly prepared for all things.

My brother and his wife have both joined the Baptist Church in this city; they seem happy, and I feel no disposition to disturb them with my Quaker views of Baptism, etc. To me however, these *outward* things seem more and more, vain and ineffective—while, the inward and spiritual worship—the silence of the heart before God—the ceasing from outward endeavor—the soul divested of the cherished garments of its works, and in nakedness and poverty waiting for the clothing of Divine Mercy,—seems to acquire new beauty and fitness. I tremble sometimes to think of our high and awful profession, as a people: and marvel at our insensibility and apathy, our worldliness and spiritual ease in view of the responsibilities laid upon us. By thy letter, I find

thou art fearful that thou hast said too much in regard to our friend E. I do not think so. I consider her in every way worthy of thy praise, and respect her too highly to think of her in any other light than as thy friend. The truth is, I can fully appreciate such a character as E's—and admire her—but, with the feeling that such excellence and purity, loveliness are not for me—that with deep and strong feelings, and a capacity of seeing and comprehending worth and excellence—I am nevertheless, compelled to forego the idea of appropriating them to myself—I am quite sure that a person like E. could never overlook some of my contradictions of character—and see me as I am, in deed and in truth. What with my eccentric imagination,—my lively sense of the ludicrous—my ill-restrained tendency to caricature and sarcasm—the thousand inconsistencies of speech and action, which thee thyself must have noticed—I do not believe that she could ever regard me as worthy of her confidence. The fixed habits of thought—established ideas of property—and, may I say, the narrow and exclusive spirit of sectarianism which her associations have been so well calculated to foster—would revolt at my freedom, and it may be too general liberality.

So then it seems the female delegates were not admitted to the World's Convention! Well, it is probably a sorry thing to my friend Lucretia—It seems that Garrison and one other male delegate "retired in disgust"—But the Convention seemed to go on just as well as if he had not pettishly colonized himself as the * * * *. I am sorry that any attempt was made to send women as delegates—as the feelings of Lucretia Mott must have been sorely tried. With all her faults of opinion I like her. My best love to all the folks and believe me, most affectionately, thy cousin,

John G. Whittier

I shall be at Amesbury in the course of a fortnight probably.

LETTER III

Salem, 22nd, 1st mo. [?] 1841

Dear Cousin Ann,

It is a long time since I have heard from thee—and, as the last

news was rather unfavorable to thy health I am fearful that illness is the cause of thy silence.

Our Quarterly Meeting was held here yesterday—a tremendous storm—high wind, and pouring rain freezing as it fell,—made it very disagreeable for an invalid—but the Meeting was an excellent one—We were favored with the religious services of Lindley M. Hoage and wife, and Susan Howland. Lindley spoke two hours nearly—a powerful, and to me, I hope an edifying communication.

Elizabeth is with me—she will spend a week or two in this place and Lynn. She wishes me to tell thee that she remembers you all with undiminished affection.

I write this hasty note by her friend Isaac Winslowe, who is just leaving on his way to Philada. My love to thy father, mother, Isaac and Mary, Margaret and Evert, and all our mutual friends.

Affectionately thy cousin,

J. G. W.

Is it true that Joseph J. Gurney's name and writings are studiously excluded from "The Friend?"—Tell Jos. Cartland that there is no present prospect of his idea of a new paper is not likely to be realized—at least at present. [*sic*]

I have a long letter to send to E. Nicholson, in reply to a kind one from her—but did not anticipate an opportunity to forward it.

LETTER IV

Amesbury. 28th, 8th Month 1841

My Dear Cousin Ann,

When in Boston three weeks ago I heard thou wast sick at Newport, and had I been tolerably well myself I should have visited thee. As it was, I expected E. had heard from thee, but on my return home I found she had not for some time. She wrote thee just before I came home care of Cousin Gideon Smith.

We now suppose thou must be at home, and we hope with improved health—at all events we trust with a spirit prepared to receive the dispensations of Providence with the calm faith that all is for the best. My health has been wretched this summer, but I have somehow been enabled to do a great deal notwithstand-

ing. It has been an eventful season for me. I have but a brief space of time allotted me before the bearer of this starts for your city and have so many things to say I scarcely know how to begin.

How is Isaac's health? Thy Mother's? Father's? Margaret's? for she too was unwell when I left. I hope the country air as well as the *long night's sleep* which she doubtless enjoyed at La Grange were of service to her. This "settin up o' nights" is poor business.

Elisabeth wants room to say a word, and I must give it. I got a paper the other day from J. Cartland, and thank him for remembering me. I had a letter from Moses the other day. He is now at Berwick Q. Meeting.

My best love to all of you! and once more hoping that thy health has improved I am

As Ever Thy Affect. Cousin

John G Whittier

LETTER V

Lee, 2nd 7th mo. 1842

My Dear Cousin,

Isn't it queer to see a letter from me with this date? I rec'd a line from Mary informing me that Joseph had arrived at Lee, and as Mother and Elizabeth are on the visit to * * * and I was nearly left alone, I started off to see him, fearful that he would not make me a visit. I was extremely glad to hear *directly* from you, although I regretted to hear of thy Mother's illness. I cannot but hope she is on the recovery. Thou must excuse my sad neglect of one or two of thy kind epistles, always welcome as they are. The truth is, letter writing is with me a *task*, and were it not for the pleasure I derive from my friends' letters I fear I should do very little of it. What shall I say? Moses and Anna are disputing as usual upon metaphysics. Joseph and Jonathan are in full blast upon politics, and I am holding a sort of collateral, sideways conversation with all parties—and the truth is, my head is getting into confusion—its ideas holding a sort of internecine, Rhode Island war with each other. I can't get "into the quiet." Tubal Cain, Jr., master-builder on the Babel corpora-

tion, was never more bewildered by the confusion of tongues than I am at this moment. Then, in addition to all, the thermometer has boiled over—the heat is really awful—and all day I have been ready to say with another:

"I wake from dreams of polar ice
On which I've been a slider
Like fishes dreaming of the *sea*
And waking in the *spider!*

I should indeed have been glad had the "way opened" this season for a visit to Philadelphia, but must now defer it until Margaret invites E. and I to her wedding. Tell her that this fall will be a suitable time in our opinion. There is such a thing as overdoing this courting business. For my part, were I in Elisha's place, I should get out of all patience. To be obliged to travel a mile and a half every night, year in and year out, is more than I could submit to even for so good a girl as Cousin Margaret. And besides, looking at it abstractly, isn't it rather ridiculous for two young folk to meet night after night, and look at each other with a kind of awkward and bashful familiarity, too decided for mere friendship, and yet altogether too cold and distant for love? Why not marry at once and have done with it? But there—what should *I* know about such matters. I dare say they find it pleasant enough.

I like thy remarks about the Liberty Party and its dangers, and I thank thee for thy friendly caution. I am not much affected by "the whirl of politics." I *act*—because I believe it to be my duty—decidedly and vigorously—but my *inward self* is calm. The ambitions and selfish hopes of other years do not disturb me. Why it is so I know not: but I can mingle in the exciting scenes of an election without feeling the excitement to any considerable extent. My enthusiasm has been tamed down by that harsh and coarse-grained school mistress Experience.

Is E. Lloyd writing anything this summer? I suspect she will one day surprize us with a splendid poem, of the kind we talked of. Does E. N. write any more of her spirited and sparkling poems now—flashing with wit keen and graceful as a Saracen's scimitar? God bless both of them! Unlike as they can well be,

yet linked together by the strong affinities of Genius—by a common love of the Beautiful and the Good. It seems sometimes as if the space between the Banks of the Merrimack and the Delaware were annihilated, and that I am just ready to step into Friend Wendell's, enjoy the blended playfulness and earnestness of Elisabeth Nicholson—and the exquisite taste and beautiful thoughts of E. Lloyd—just ready to step into the cars for Haverford to A. L. Pennock's, or in the omnibus for La Grange, to see Isaac and Mary. But though this may not be in reality, in thought and feeling I am often with you.

I send thee by Jos. a copy of J. Sturge's pamphlet [?] I am not in the least troubled about the document of the Y[early] M[eetin]g about him. If as I believe he has acted conscientiously in this business, he will not matter it a single straw. Why should he?—Are Saml. Bettle and Wm. Evans and Christopher Healy any more likely to be *infallible* than Geo. Stacey and Wm. Foster? I love the Society—its discipline and its principles—but I have no idea that it is impossible for a Yearly Meeting to err. My best love to thy Father and Mother, to Margaret, Evert, to Isaac and Mary and * * * friends.

J. G. W.

LETTER VI

Amesbury. 22nd 8th Mo 1843

My Dear Cousin Ann,

I make no excuse—I offer no reasons—although plenty as blackberries—for so long neglecting to write thee. I have only to crave thy forgiveness, and to hope that I shall do better in future—and to thank thee for thy two last kind letters, which have been most welcome. I was really sorry that E. and I were from home when Isaac and Mary were in N. E. I wanted to see them at home and besides I was too sick to enjoy their visit when at Lee. I was amused by the opening paragraph of thy letter under date of 6th mo 7th in which thee seem to doubt whether thee have any such cousin as J. G. W.—Yes—he is still as he ever was, and if he was in Philadelphia at this moment thee would find him unchanged at all events, I fear no better than

when he was last there: I hope no worse however. This much is certain—I should be heartily glad to visit Philadelphia—to sit with Cousin Ann and discourse upon the great problems of human life and destiny—and not upon those high abstractions alone, but upon those household things, the simple, the tender and the beautiful of daily life—which

"Lie scattered at the feet of man like flowers."

—I should like to see how Margaret acts the woman and greet once more my dear friends in 12th and Union Streets and then return to talk with thy Mother about Luther, Melancthon, and Pope and Cardinal and Fathers and Councils. Thinking of these matters does thee read much of the Puseyism controversy which is now going on? The English Episcopal Church seems ready to go over to Popery in earnest. Has thee noticed the general tendency towards the old trust in man—priests, sacrifices, and ghostly mummery and machinery?—To me it seems to bid fair to swallow up everything save Quakerism *of the old stamp* (for the evangelicals in England and here have given up all to the enemy) which has this advantage that its distinctive characteristic is the entire rejection of *all* ceremonial—the total disbelief in the power of pope, priest, or elder to give a ransom for the soul of another. Well—let the world, sick of doubt and infidelity, try over once more the old superstitions which the Voltaires and Gibbons and Humes of the past century exposed to scorn and derision. Let the old tricks of monks, and priests again deceive and amuse self-blinded Christendom. I have a strong faith—it seems almost like prophecy—that the result will be ere the lapse of two centuries a complete and permanent change in the entire Christian World. Weary and disgusted with shams and shadows—with the effort to believe a few miserable worms of the dust the sole dispensers of Heaven's salvation—men will awake to the simple beauties of *practical Christianity*. Love will take the place of fast, penance, long prayers and heathenish sacrifices—altar, church, priest, and ritual will pass away—but the human heart will be the holy of holies where worship will still be performed not in set forms and on particular occasions, but daily and hourly, a worship meet and acceptable to Him who is

not deceived by the pomp of outward ceremonial, and who loves mercy better than sacrifice.

It is really so long, dear Cousin, since I have written thee that I scarcely know which of the many things I want to say, to give the preference to and the result will be that I shall send thee a sadly dull letter. I had a visit from L. Tappan and wife and daughter the other day—he is just from England. He says the Friends there were very anxious to have the pro-slavery Methodists, Baptists, and so forth of America exposed in the World's Convention, but evidently feared to hear the truth of the course of Friends in America disclosed. Oh! if I had nothing else to be thankful for, I should still feel grateful that I have not become a bigotted sectarian. To me, Quaker and Catholic are alike—both children of my Heavenly Father—and separated only by a *creed*,—to some indeed a barrier like the Chinese wall, but to me frail and slight as the spider's web.

Sister E. has been very unwell for several months, but I hope is a little better. She will write thee by another opportunity, which will occur in a few days. How is thy father's health now? I often think of him—at his age it seems hard to labor as he does: but I suppose the business has become a second nature to him: and he would scarcely feel at ease in a less responsible and exciting position.

I think some[?] of attending the great anti-Slavery Convention at Buffalo N. Y. on the 30th and 31st of this month. I should like to visit Philad. before I return home, but see not much prospect of it. Remember me kindly and affectionately to all the family and to our mutual friends. Tell Elisabeth Nicholson that her own beautiful prose sketch of William Penn is better than anything I can write in rhyme upon his portrait.

Does E. Lloyd write anything nowadays?—She ought to have had those "Quaker Sketches" all ready for the press before this time. I hear that Hannah is about to turn Yankee. Is it so!—E. read me a part of E. N.'s letter to her, giving a most amusing account of the two Elizabeths' visit to Laurel Hill. It was a capital piece of description. Believe me affectionately thy unchanged cousin,

John G. Whittier

LETTER VII

Lowell, 18th, 10th Mo. 1844

Dear Ann,

Thy kind and long, and welcome letter lies before me: and although the state of my health for some weeks has been such as to compel me to neglect all correspondence except on matters of immediate business, I shall not suffer it to be unanswered a single day. I cannot bear the thought that the friends whom I love, who have made me better by their admonitions, example, and life should feel that I have become careless and indifferent in respect to them. I am not, my dear cousin, ungrateful for kindness, although sometimes I may appear so. It is to me a task to write letters—I have so many—so many which require immediate attention—that I neglect the very ones which I feel most interested in—those of my personal friends. My duties here are as much as I can well attend to—and nothing but a firm conviction that the future hope of my country, and the poor slaves, greatly depends on the faithfulness of abolitionists at this trying crisis could induce me to bear them in my present state of health. As it is, I feel that in a rough, harsh way, little congenial to my feelings, I am *doing what needs to be done.*

I am really sad to hear such a story of the *little* Margaret—I had hoped one day to see her in health and beauty and trust it may yet be so. My love to Margaret. I trust that whatever the event may be she will see that it is all right, and realizes

> "That every cloud which floats above
> And veileth love, *itself is love.*"

Thy mother too—but I trust and believe she will soon be better. She has had so many of these ill-turns that I cannot but think she will be comfortable again this winter. As for thyself, I can say nothing—there is a hopelessness about thy letter as respects thy own health—which leaves me no room to utter a cheering word. Yet, my dear cousin, even if thy gloomy anticipations are realized, and permanent health is not again to be thine, I know thou wilt see in the dispensation the hand of Divine Mercy: and better than I can tell thee how to gather about thee, like good angels, the consolations of unchilled affections, peace of conscience and serene hope and faith. Do not for a moment reproach

thyself for thy kind and *needed* caution to myself in thy last letter before this. It is the highest evidence of sincere friendship to utter a word of warning to our friends when we see or think we see them liable to be led astray.

I will send the paper to E N. I regret that I misunderstood thy letter which I certainly did. Tell E L. that even her "fine phrenzy" would suffer in such a place as Lowell; and that a residence of six months amidst the din of the shuttles [?] would drive everything like poetry out of her head, as effectually as out of mine. Tell E N. that *I* will publish her poem for her, and let it take the place of my "Stranger in Lowell." I wish I had a copy of last month's Dem. Review to send. It contains a *part* of a poem or fragment of mine about the White Mountains * * * and rather flat. This is the week for our Q. Meeting. I hoped to go but the weather has been unfavorable and stormy. I admire that article on "The Good Men of Clapham" in the "Living Age." It is really refreshing to read it. Elizabeth is much as usual. I am not at home now more than one third of the time. My paper is not exactly what I could wish but I have not health to make it otherwise. With love to all of you I am

Affectionately thy cousin,

J G Whittier

A queer incident occurred the other day. The Express man brought in to me a large square bundle—like a huge looking glass—carefully wrapped—the inner envelope a valuable cashmere shawl—on unfolding which there was a splendid old painting—Carlo Dolce's Magdalen—exquisitely beautiful. It has been hanging in my room ever since, with its holy look of repentance for sin forgiven!—It is strange as a fairy gift. What shall I do with the shawl. A friend suggests that I had better cut a hole in it and wear it like a Mexican blanket!

LETTER VIII

Lynn, 6th 1st Mo 1846

Dear Cousin Ann:

Elizabeth and I are detained here by a storm, and I embrace the occasion to drop thee a line, to let thee know of my where-

abouts and to speak of one or two matters of personal interest to myself. I spent the night I left at William J. Allison's very pleasantly, and took the 1st train to Bordentown, where I waited for the nine o'clock train from Philad.

I spent 6th day in N. Y. and left on seventh day at 4 P. M. for Boston. I found Elizabeth much as when I left her, with a bad cold which I fear is to be attributed to her imprudence.

I left in my room sundry papers and so forth among them some MS. of my own rhymes belonging to *Th. L. Cavendish*, which I wish thee would put up in a package and send to the office of the American Citizen in 5th Street between Arch and Market, directed to him. Lyddon Pennock says he intended the Daguerreotype for myself, as he has another copy. It is at Langenhiem's [?]. I had another taken: but it was a dark day and I was compelled to sit so long that I became tired and nervous, and doubt whether it is as good as the other. If thee has any wish for such an image thee can have it by sending for it. Isaac could tell which is the best likeness. Perhaps, however, it would be as well to leave it where it is. 'Tis a poor thing at best.

One word for thyself and those present on a particular evening which thee will remember. *Do not speak of what I said of a certain person in Boston to any one.* Margaret and Elisha, of course will be discreet about it. What I said was *in confidence*, and must be regarded as sacred.

I shall want to see a copy of E. Lloyd's poem when it is out. It will be got up I hope in a style worthy of its beauty of thought and language.

In thinking over my late visit to Philad. I fear I was too idle in my conversation while with you. I was excited somewhat and said many foolish things which I have no doubt I have ample reason to be sorry for but I felt the freedom to *act myself* out while with you which I should not have felt in other circumstances. I have no wish that my friends should think better of me than I deserve and my only anxiety is that I may not injure others by any folly or indiscretion of my own: and that whatever degree of influence I may possess may not be exerted unfavorably on the friends whom I love, and on testimonies and prin-

ciples which I hold dear. Elizabeth sends her best love to thee and all the family, and to her other friends and acquaintance, especially to E. Nicholson and E. Lloyd.—She hopes to see you all soon. As ever thy aff. cousin,

J. G. W.

P. S. If thee needs an *umbrella* thee will find one at your back door. I have another at Washington, and of course shall not need it!

LETTER IX

Amesbury 8th 2nd Month 1850.

My dear Cousin

On returning from Boston a day or two ago I found thy letter awaiting me. I thank thee from my heart for the kind remembrance. I have thought a great deal of thee and thy father of late. I have sincerely sympathized with you in your trials and business difficulties. I hope to see thee in N. E. this summer. Elizabeth is under the care of Dr. Perry of Boston, at her friend Harriet Minot Pitman's with some hope of relief from his skill and care. Mother and I have just returned home, and are living quite in the quiet here, with only a little girl and a cat for company, the one to "do chores" and the other to catch mice. Mother has been staying with Aunt Phebe at Lynn, and I have been in Boston. I went out to Pawtucket last week and spent three days with Gideon and his family and had a very pleasant visit. They all wished thee could have been with us. We had a pleasant ride, first day, to the old Southfield meeting—a house as old as the time of G. Fox, and perhaps he preached in it when he visited America. Mary Eliz. makes a good housekeeper for her father, and Emma is a fine, pretty, half-spoiled child, altogether interesting. The loss of her mother, the sense of responsibility and duty, have made Mary E. somewhat different from what she was when at Philadelphia—she is more thoughtful and subdued although still cheerful and warm-hearted as ever.

I send thee with this a little book of mine. I wish it was better, but it is as good as the writer, I fear. Much of it was written under circumstances very unfavorable.

I am sorry to hear of E. S.' illness. She stays too much at home, alone; she needs society and change. Her mind is too active. I wish she could visit N E with thee, next summer.

I wish I could say anything favorable of my own health. I cannot read or write without pain and weariness. But I will not complain. I have many blessings. I have more than I deserve of happiness. Would that I could make a better improvement of the smiles and chastenings of Him who knows what is best for his erring and unstable child!

Write me, dear Cousin, when thou canst. Remember me affectionately to thy father, to Isaac and Mary and Elisha and Margaret and all who may care to hear from me, and believe me ever and truly thy affectionate Cousin

JOHN G. WHITTIER

Elizabeth had an excellent letter from E Nicholson, bright and genial as herself.

LETTER X

Amesbury 26th 3rd [?] Mo. 1868

My dear Cousin

It is indeed true that I have been very sick. I was quite ill when I wrote thee and speedily was taken down with a long and low fever which confined me nearly all winter. I am now better, but still suffer a good deal of pain.

For two weeks I had small expectation of recovery but was mercifully preserved in great calmness and quiet and entire trust in the goodness of God. I sometimes fear I shall never feel such resignation again as I did at that time.

I really hope there will be no separation between thee and Evert and his excellent wife, who, I think must be a very pleasant and intelligent companion for thee. When I think of thee alone as it were at La Grange, I can, from some experience, sympathize with thee. But while thy bro. and wife are there, thee have the advantage of me, in companionship.

My nephew's (Mary's son's) wife came on and has been with me during my sickness. And I have had no lack of kindly offices from all my neighbors and friends. I am very thankful for the love and good will which are daily manifested for me.

Will thee let me enclose a trifle? I can spare it as well as not and I can never in this way repay the kindness of thee and thy good father and mother to me when I was in Philada.

Give my love to Evert and to Abbie his wife. I cannot write a long letter, and must conclude with much love, thy affectionate cousin,

John G. Whittier

Write me when thee feels like it and able. I am always glad to hear from thee.

LETTER XI

Amesbury 12 Mo. 21 1871

Dear Ann

I was glad to get thy long and interesting letter and at once reproached myself that I had delayed so long writing to thee. The truth is I dread to touch a pen: I make brave resolutions of what I am going to do, but, when I sit down to write and the tedious pain and weary dizziness come on I give over the attempt in despair. Indeed I write only notes now. I have not heard from Gertrude and Jos. for some months directly but the Johnsons told Lizzie last week that Gertrude was quite ill and the doctors thought she ought to go South. Perhaps she has gone already.

I have been confined a great deal at home the past year and have only been as far as Boston for a long time. At the present time I am shut in doors by neuralgia and a severe cold. The weather is bitterly cold, below zero this morning. Two Friends Esther B. Tuttle of Delaware, Ohio, and her companion have been to see me and have just left for the cars. Esther has been attending the *protracted meeting* at Brooklyn, N. Y. and feels as if she had reached a state of perfect and entire dedication to the Lord's service. I think she is very sincere, but I wonder what will be the end of this excitement and movement among Friends.

I am glad to think of thee as making thyself useful to the young folks and getting good from them in return. Depend upon it, if it is noisy and wearisome, at times, it is better than loneliness. I am sorry to hear of Isaacs's lameness. Give my love to

him and Evert and thy sister Abby, whom I seem to know very well through thee, and with all good wishes of the season I am aff. thy cousin

JOHN G. WHITTIER

I want to make thee some little New Year's gift but hardly know what to get, so I send and let thee choose for thyself. I often in reading interesting books wish I could hand them over to thee or at least talk with thee about them.

LETTER XII

Amesbury
1st Mo. 8 1874

My dear Cousin Ann

When I got thy last letter, I meant to answer it right off hand, but I had so many letters requiring immediate reply that I postponed thine from day to day, and sickness and company deferred it still more. I have now some 30 or 40 to attend to, and more are coming daily.

The "hard times" affect everybody more or less. I find that my income is largely diminished but I am thankful that I have enough for my actual needs and some to spare.

How hard it is for Saml., Eliza Boyce [!] I feel for them very much. E. B. is one of the excellent of the earth. The sad death of Wm. Boyce affected her very much. I did not go to the Lynn grand convention of Friends and other folks. I do not enjoy such gatherings, there is so much talk to small purpose, and I still believe in old fashioned Quakerism. I was very much pleased with the little I saw of thy two nephews. They were liked by all who met them. I am at home this winter. Lizzie is here but will leave for a month or two soon. I shall be in Boston if my health permits. I saw the Johnsons a few weeks ago and we talked of thee and wished thee with us.

I wish I could send thee something for a New Year reminder of thy N. E. cousin. Will thee choose for thyself? With a great deal of love to thee and all the cousins, I am, dear Ann, always and truly thy affectionate cousin

JOHN G. WHITTIER

Write when thee feels like it. I am glad to hear from thee.

LETTER XIII

Amesbury

12th Mo. 16 1874 [?]

My dear Cousin

I was glad to get thy interesting letter of some weeks ago, even if I am so late in replying. I have been a good deal of the time in no condition for writing, and company and cares of one kind and another have occupied my days when I might otherwise have written. I have been mostly at home this season, only spending a week at the Isle of Shoals and two weeks at West Ossipee, N. H. Lizzie my niece was in Portland about 5 weeks in the summer and fall.

I find that I cannot do much in the way of travelling, and I fully realize that my years have been long in the land. "The grasshopper is a burden."

I was last week at Boston and saw the Johnsons. We talked of thee as a matter of course. When I was there before I saw Gideon Smith and his daughters.

I was sorry to hear of thy illness, but hope thee are better ere this. The autumn with us has been beautiful—the finest I ever knew. Last month was like the mildest of Octobers. Now the winter is upon us—8° below zero yesterday. I feel every change acutely.

[Here several lines, crossed out in different ink, appear to read: "I want to send thee a New Year's * * * it is no matter if it is a little in advance."]

I was at the little meeting in Boston on First Day. I think about 40 were present, and there were seven or eight speakers. We have no silent meetings now, in fact there is more talking in our meetings than in most others. One speaker follows another, one rises as the other sits down. Quiet reflection and meditation are thus out of the question. Perhaps it is all for the best, but I fail to see it. It may be the speakers feel better, but it seems to me like the apostles "unknown tongues", the utterer of which only edified himself.

With much love and kindly memories of the old days of '39 and '40, I am dear cousin affectionately

JOHN G. WHITTIER

Give my love to thy nephews and nieces and to Evert and his wife.

LETTER XIV

Oak Knoll
Danvers
11th Mo. 10 1877

Dear Cousin

Returning from Amesbury where I have been for two or three weeks I find thy long and kind letter awaiting me. I am glad to see by the tone of it that thy health and spirits are better and that the change to your new home has been pleasant to thee. I wish I could look in upon you.

I spent a night at Jos. and Gertrude's before I came here. They live on the broad, elm-lined High Street, the finest avenue I know of in New England. The house is two and half stories with a flat roof, at the corner of High and Broad Sts., a bay window on Broad St. and the front porch on High. Before the house the broad green lawns of the old Hale place give a beautiful effect to the sunset. The road to West Newbury Friends' Meeting house intersects with the main street just opposite and a ride of 2½ miles brings them to meeting. Danl. Pennington's is about 1¾ miles distant. Danl. is very ill and it is feared will not recover. His daughter Alice is just married and lives in West Newbury village.

I have not been in Boston much for the past year and see but little of the great world. I have been to see Lizzie at Portland and I spent about a month at West Ossipee N. H. My health has been variable. I am comfortable only when I am idle and useless. In some respects this place is the best for me. I am more in the open air here. Only think of it. I shall be 70 years old if I live until the 17th of next mo. For good or ill my life-work seems done: and I feel that I ought to be more and better than I am. An unprofitable servant, I can only trust in the infinite mercy of my Heavenly Father.

I can see, dear Ann, that it must be lonesome for thee at times, and that the thought of old friends will follow thee into thy retreat. We cannot bring back the past, however, and we must learn at our time of life to live in the present and make the most and best of today. I am glad to think that thee are among kind and loving household friends.

Cousin Abby will answer thy letter soon. She and May and Caroline all send love. I enclose a stereoscopic view of our place here, as seen coming up the drive-way from the road. I am glad thee liked Deephaven. I liked it so much that I thought thee would enjoy its pictures of our New England seacoast and so sent it.

Winter is coming and I greatly dread it. This morning the earth was white with snow. Be thankful that thee are 2 or 3 degrees south of us.

The state of our Society is sad. New methods, new dress and speech a disregard of the vital doctrine of Friends—I feel lost in some of our meetings. Our Monthly Meeting and indeed our Q. M. are mostly preserved on the old ground. With a great deal of love to thee and the family, I am aff.

John G. Whittier

LETTER XV

Danvers
11 Mo. 20 1878

Dear Cousin Ann

I thank thee for thy kind, pleasant letter—very glad to hear something of thy condition, and that thee have been able to get to meeting once more. I very seldom go, except when I am in Boston or Amesbury. It is too far to ride to Salem or Lynn. I have been at Amesbury for about a month. My friend Judge Cate and his wife occupy my house, and I have my little study and bedroom there. I miss, of course, the dear faces of mother, aunt and sisters, and sometimes a great feeling of loneliness comes over me. I have outlived so much—I seem to be among strangers.

Joseph Cartland and Gertrude came to our meeting once while I was there. They have a great deal of company, Friends espe-

cially, and it confines them and I think is too hard for them. I call there to see them but do not stop. I have less and less inclination to visit, I scarcely feel strong enough to *entertain* people and prefer to remain in quiet. I went with a sick friend from Amesbury to the Isle of Shoals for two or three days last summer, but I don't think it helped either of us. I was very much debilitated, and the last of the summer went to West Ossipee where I staid a month. I have been here now for a fortnight. The cousins are well but they get no time to go from home and there is so much to be done. Phebe goes to school at the next house. A South American trader named Spring lives there and has a teacher for his children.

I am dreading the winter, I cannot bear it as I did once.

I am sorry to hear of Isaac's state of health, but we [are] all growing old—or rather have [done] so. We must not expect much. But we may always trust the loving kindness of Our Father.

Give my love to him and Evert and Abby and the younger folks. All here send love. Abby will write soon.

I wish to send thee some little token of cousinly regard, but it is difficult to send so far. I enclose a trifle, which thee can use as thee pleases.

I am very sorry not to see more of Hannah Newbold and her daughter. Give my love to them. They should not mind Maria Coffin's way, they know her of old. Always affectionately

JOHN G. WHITTIER

LETTER XVI

Danvers 2nd Mo. 2 1881

Dear Cousin Ann

It is a long time since I have written thee with pen and ink, but I have written in thought very often. I find it more and more difficult to write and I am more than ever beset with letters from all parts of the country and from across the water. I am fully an old man and have daily reminders of it. I have been in Boston only twice this season and only for a few days. I have staid much of the time in Amesbury, but for the last month have been in this place. The winter has been severely cold, and I have not been able to get out much, and have suffered in consequence

but I ought [not] to complain for I have many blessings and privileges for which I trust I feel thankful to the Giver of all good gifts. It would be a great satisfaction to me to be more among Friends and those who are in sympathy with me in the most serious matters. We were very glad to hear directly from thee last summer by our young cousin. It would be a great pleasure if I could look in upon you and have a good long talk with thee as formerly.

Joseph and Gertrude are about as usual, but, like ourselves, growing older. Gertrude cannot get out much.

Our cousins here send much love to thee. Cousin Sarah P * * * spent two days here not long ago. She is well and happy. I meant to send something to thee for New Year but could think of nothing that would be interesting. Is it too late to enclose a trifle so that thee can choose for thyself?

Affectionately thy cousin

JOHN G. WHITTIER

With love to all your family.

COLLECTORS of Quakeriana are warned that fourteen pieces by Whittier have lately been stolen from the Haverhill (Massachusetts) Public Library—which will send a list of them on request. If offered for sale they can probably be identified by the evidences of the erasure of the lawful owner's stamp. Lovers of Whittier will feel well disposed to the Library, which appropriately houses one of the best collections of material from and about the Quaker poet.

"BEGINNINGS of Salem" is the title of an account of the first twenty years of Salem, Iowa, by J. A. Swisher, in *The Palimpsest* 21 (1940), 140-150. Founded in 1835 by Aaron Street, Jr., whose father had moved from Salem, New Jersey, to Salem, Ohio, and with his son to Salem, Indiana, it was long "known as a staunch Quaker settlement, a station on the underground railroad, and an educational center." For a history of Whittier College, at Salem, see this BULLETIN 28 (1939), 73.

"AMERICAN Quaker History in the Works of Whittier, Hawthorne and Longfellow" is an extended article by M. Jane Griswold in *Americana*, xxxiv (1940), pp. 220-263. Several poems of Whittier, his *Margaret Smith's Journal*, Hawthorne's *The Gentle Boy*, and Longfellow's *John Endicott* are all carefully reviewed with special reference to their relation to the historical records of the Quaker persecution in Massachusetts.

QUAKERISM AND FRENCH QUIETISM

By Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert and Russell Pope

INCIDENTAL mention of Quakers made by Bossuet,[1] Bishop of Meaux, gains importance as it shows indirectly the relation between Quakerism and French Quietism. In 1689 Bossuet answered Pastor Jurieu's[2] *Lettres* against the *Histoire des variations des églises protestantes* with six *Avertissements aux protestants*; and in the third of these, he makes it clear that if Protestants under the direction of Jurieu base their faith on direct revelations rather than on the scripture, they will fall into the error of Quakers, the most extreme fanatics.[3] To support his point he quotes from the Quakers, citing a book called *Les Principes de la vérité et thèses théologiques*, Rotterdam 1675, as his authority.[4] His footnote does not identify the author, but the second half of the title, *Thèses théologiques*, offers a clue. Modern editions of Barclay's *Apology* are sometimes prefaced by his *Theses Theologicae*, and Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books* (i, p. 487) shows that these theses (which are in essence the *Apology*) were printed also with *Truth's Principles* by John Crook. That volume, which appeared in 1663, went through many editions and was translated into French and printed in Rotterdam in 1675 with the title Bossuet knew. Comparison of Bossuet's quotation shows that he quoted from Barclay's second and third propositions rather than from any part of Crook's *Truth's Principles*. His knowledge of Quakerism is well grounded, and the prominence he gives to Barclay's prop-

[1] Jaques Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704), French Roman Catholic divine, orator, and writer. He labored especially for the reunion of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches.

[2] Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713), French Protestant divine who fled from France to Holland in 1681 in order to escape the persecution which he feared would be visited upon him as a Protestant. Four years afterward, the Edict of Nantes, which had accorded to Protestants in France the privilege of exercising their religion, was revoked.

[3] Bossuet, *Oeuvres*, tome xxi, p. 216: Or cela, c'est formellement ce qu' enseignent les fanatiques, come il paroît par leur thèses: car voici celles que les Quakers ou les Trembleurs, c'est-à-dire les fanatiques les plus avérés ont publiées. . . .

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 217.

ositions interesting, but still he has made no association of Quakers with Quietists.

Molinos'[5] *Guida spirituale* had been condemned in 1675, the same year in which both Barclay's *Apology* and these theses printed with *Les Principes de la vérité* appeared. In 1688 and 1689, when Bossuet pursued his controversy with Jurieu, Madame Guyon[6] had recently returned to Paris and had entered upon her correspondence with Fénelon,[7] Archbishop of Cambrai.

Ten years later she was in the Bastille, Fénelon's *Maxims of the Saints* had been condemned by the reluctant pope, and Bossuet had won a victory over Quietism. Although Quietism was an element of the intellectual atmosphere of Europe, it was more than strange that Fénelon's condemned book should contain a few paragraphs resembling those which Bossuet quoted from Barclay as examples of the heresy of the Quakers. Compare these sentences from Barclay's second proposition with those of Fénelon which follow it:

> Moreover, these divine inward revelations, which we make absolutely necessary for the building up of true faith, neither do nor can ever contradict the outward testimony of the Scripture or right and sound reason. Yet from hence it will not follow, that these divine revelations are to be subjected to the examination either of the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble or certain rule or touchstone: for this divine revelation and inward illumination, is that which is evident and clear of itself, forcing, by its own evidence and clearness, the well-disposed understanding to assent.

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[5] Miguel de Molinos (c. 1640-1697), a Spanish divine, one of the leaders of the religious movement called Quietism. He was attacked by the Jesuits for heresy, was imprisoned in 1687, and died in prison.

[6] Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Mothe Guyon (1648-1717), usually called Madame Guyon, a French mystic, apostle of Quietism, acquaintance of Bossuet and Fénelon. She was suspected of heresy and confined to the Bastille from 1695 to 1703.

[7] François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651-1715), French writer, educator, and Roman Catholic divine, Archbishop of Cambrai. He was a friend of Madame Guyon, who interested him in Quietism; when Bossuet was writing a book on the Quietists which he feared would do them less than justice, he himself published a book on the same subject, the *Maxims of the Saints*, thus becoming involved in a feud with Bossuet and bringing upon himself the condemnation of the Pope.

Thus Barclay. Fénelon says:

> Again, the persons who have, or are supposed to have, the visions and other remarkable states to which we have referred, are sometimes disposed to make their own experience, imperfect as it obviously is, the guide of their life, considered as separate from and as above the written law. Great care should be taken against such an error as this. God's word is our true rule. Nevertheless, there is no interpreter of the Divine word like that of a holy heart; or, what is the same thing, of the Holy Ghost dwelling in the heart. . . . A holy soul, in the exercise of its legitimate powers of interpretation, may deduce important views from the word of God which would not otherwise be known; but it cannot add anything to it.[8]

The difference is of degree—Barclay says visions must harmonize; Fénelon, that the inward revelation will harmonize.

There is greater caution in the Archbishop, for he was trying to reconcile divine revelation with Catholic dependence on authority, and the task was great even for a man of his suppleness. Quaker interest in his writing, *Maxims of the Saints*, is shown by this remark in Bossuet's letter to his nephew on April 14, 1698: "The Quakers are ordering M. de Cambray's book so fast that it has been necessary to stop its circulation."[9] We agree with Edith Philips[10] that it was impossible that Bossuet could have failed to compare the Quietists with the Quakers, but no comparison has been found in print. His translator did it for him though, in a curious tract published in London in 1698 and entitled: *Quakerism à la Mode* or a *History of Quietism, particularly that of the Lord Archbishop of Cambray and Madame Guyone.*[11] This contains an account of Madame Guyon's life—the first one available to English readers. It antedates Josiah Martin's first brief study of her life, made in 1727, and makes it possible that English Quakers knew of her teaching as well

[8] *Maxims of the Saints* (English translation), London, H. R. Allenson, p. 17.

[9] *Oeuvres*, tome xli, p. 168: Les quakers faisaient venir le livre de M. de Cambrai avec tant d'empressement qu'on a été obligé d'en arrêter le cours.

[10] *The Good Quaker in French Legend*, Philadelphia, The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932, p. 26, note 30.

[11] Mentioned by Edith Philips, *op. cit.*, p. 26, and listed in Smith's *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana*, p. 77.

as Fénelon's during her lifetime. There are many traces of her influence in the next century, one of the most interesting being John Byrom's comment in a letter to William Law: ". . . M[adame] Guion, whom the Quakers pretend to have been a Quaker, and use her name in quakerizing such as they can prevail upon." [12] In the eighteenth century, with the work of Josiah Martin (a short sketch of Madame Guyon in 1727 and a much longer one in 1735) and the translation of her life made by James Gough in 1770, her influence broadens so that the eminent Friend, Rendel Harris, calls it phenomenal and says: "If we ever had as a Society a mother-in-grace, it is she. We may go farther and say that when we estimated the influence of outside teachers upon us, the Society has been profoundly affected by the teaching and life of Madame Guyon, *and by no one else.*" [13]

However, the possibility of influence or direct contact between Quakerism and Quietism in the seventeenth century still remains uncertain. Bossuet's knowledge and his references may open the way to the student of Quakerism.

Guilford College, N. C.

IN *Modern Language Notes*, 54 (1939), 466-67, A. Stuart Pitt points out a passage in *The New-England Courant*, for 1723, in which Benjamin Franklin evidently has used and paraphrased a passage in William Penn's *No Cross, No Crown* against "titular respects."

MRS. Douglas Summers Brown, on the basis mainly of the minutes of Cedar Creek and Henrico Monthly Meetings in Virginia, discusses "Cedar Creek Monthly Meeting and its Meeting House" in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 19 (1939), 293-298. Four meeting houses in succession served this strongest of all the Virginia Quaker meetings from about 1720, the last (illustrated by a photograph) being destroyed in 1904 by fire. The Monthly Meeting now known as Richmond celebrated its 200th anniversary in 1939.

[12] Stephen Hobhouse, *William Law and Eighteenth Century Quakerism*, London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1927, p. 137.

[13] J. Rendel Harris, *The Influence of Quietism on the Society of Friends:* lecture delivered at Bryn Mawr College on April 30, 1900, pp. 5-6.

QUAKERS, JEWS, AND FREEDOM OF TEACHING IN BARBADOS, 1686

By Henry J. Cadbury

IN THE FIRST issue of *Quakeriana Notes* the late Rayner W. Kelsey published part of a letter in the Haverford College Quaker Collection in which Roger Longworth, writing from London on the 7th of the 1st month 1685/6, describes his experience in Emden. The letter is addressed to one J. B., whose letter of the 8th of the 8th month 1685 it acknowledges. It includes also the following paragraphs, of which the first, signed G. F., seems to be Longworth's report, and the second (as the style indicates) seems to be what George Fox dictated in reply.

Deare John

I have spoken with Deare G F about the Children Meetings and of such as teaches children (which it is well to instruct Children) and alsoe marchants. and Trades men, and deare G F Saith it is very well that Such meetings be, and to See that Returns be made amongst Trades men, for there is a Complaint in England, and it is good that all that Profeseth the Truth in words, may Preach it in their Lives, Soe his deare Love is to you all in the Seed [*or* Lord?] that is blessed for Ever.

G F

For a meeting of friends that are Shop keepers, and merchants that they may Speak one with another, that they make Just Returns to People that they deale withall, and not keep things to Long in their hands, but answere them duely that deale withall, and See that Long debts doe not Lye in your hands. This both among marchants Shop keepers, and Planters, must Looke to, Soe that they may owe Nothing to any man, but Love, and that will be to the Honour of God, and their Owne Repute.

In his *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania*, 1935, p. 368, William I. Hull, who correctly understands the date as March 1686, prints these paragraphs and identifies the addressee as John Bowne of Flushing, Long Island—an identification which I could not accept in *The Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers*, 1939, p. 191 (1686: 4,81H).

By good fortune I lately came upon a letter which by its signature clears up the initials since it is from the very person to whom Longworth and Fox were writing. This is certain from the fact that he refers to his letter of 8th of 8th month, 1685,

and repeats from it the same question which they answered. This letter is among the Etting MSS at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (iv. 11). It is signed by John Beeke. It was addressed to Longworth and written in Barbados in February 1686, a few days before the letter now at Haverford, which doubtless crossed it on the Atlantic. No doubt both letters were brought to Pennsylvania, which Longworth himself visited shortly before his death there in 1687,[1] and were among the papers which by will were left to the care of his friend Phineas Pemberton.

John Becke or Beeke,[2] a "Teacher of Children" in Barbados, is mentioned in Besse, *Sufferings*, ii, 330, 338 as having been fined in 1685 and 1689 for opening his shop on holidays[3] and for failure in military duty. He may be the same person (or perhaps his father) as a certain John Beeke described as "an ingenious person and of good learning as also of honest and sober life and conversation (though at present he remains by the prevalency of over great persuasions of the Quakers as one of them)" by the governor of Barbados in giving him license to practise as solicitor at law in 1689. If so his difficulties in this

[1] Longworth stopped in Barbados on this journey. Three letters of his written there in February, 1687, are extant, though as yet unpublished.

[2] In the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial (America and West Indies)* the name John Beeke of Barbados occurs July 9, 1678, of a member of the assembly elected for the parish of St. Phillips; Sept. 7, 1681, of one of the witnesses ordered to attend the Council; Febr. 10, 1699, in connection with a bill for confirmation of grants of land to "John Beeke, gent." A Susannah Beeke is listed in 1680 among the inhabitants of St. Michael's Parish (J. C. Hotten, *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality*, etc., 1874, p. 447). The name Beeke appears on John Seller's map of 1686 as of a landowner in St. Phillips Parish.

[3] The holidays mentioned are "the Day called Christmas-day" and "the 30th of January, so called." The same charge is mentioned against other Barbados Friends. As for the latter date it was evidently an important holiday in the West Indies though perhaps more political than religious. It was the anniversary of the execution of Charles I. Similar offences are referred to in other accounts of English nonconformists. In the newsbook for 1663/4 was an entry: "York. Jan. 30. This day puts the city in a melancholy dress, but some Phanaticks will needs open their shops and make it a day of common business" (cited in the Mather Papers, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Fourth Series, vol. 8 (1868), p. 213).

matter were not to be over for twenty years, as is shown by the papers in his case in Friends House, London (Portfolio 32). He may be the John Beck to whom Fox himself wrote on May 28, 1677, referred to in *Annual Catalogue*, p. 149 (1677: 4,24G).[4] In the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting records it is said that Grace, the wife of "John Beak of Barbaddes" died on 10 mo. 4, 1702 (Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, ii (1938), p. 335). There is also a record of transfer to Philadelphia from Bridgetown Monthly Meeting, Barbados, of "Margery Keith unmarried," John Beeke's sister or sister-in-law (A. C. Myers, *Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia 1682-1750*, 1902, p. 33 f.). Margery Keith is mentioned again in 1706 and in 1710 (Hinshaw, *op. cit.*, ii, 572).

Returning to the name John Beeke, we find it in Barbados for fifty years. Probably not all references can be to the same individual. There are said to be two wills of John Beeke in Barbados, one in 1661 and one in 1681.

Two other signatures of our John Beeke, both in the unmistakable hand of this document, are known to me. One is among the nearly seventy signatures of a certificate for Roger Longworth "from our Generall Monthly Meeting of Men and Women Freinds at the Bridg Towne in Barbados, the 13th of 2d month, 1687" (Etting Early Quaker MSS 73). The other is on the title page of a copy of the folio collection published in 1672 of Edward Burroughs, *The Memorable Works of a Son of Thunder and Consolation* . . . This copy subsequently belonged to John Smith of Burlington, New Jersey (1722-1771), "Given Him by his Grand Mother Jn the Year 1742" and presented to Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa., in 1940, by Morris and Helen Parrish.

Pending further information about the writer, I call attention to the interest of his letter. If it is permitted to be personal in merely editing a document, I may say that rarely does an unknown document come to my attention that appeals to so many

[4] He may be the schoolmaster mentioned in another lost letter of George Fox dated 8m. 24, 1676, which while addressed to Ralph Fretwell, Barbados, began: "Dear Ralph, to whom is my love, and to thy wife and family, and Jno. Rouse and his Father's family and to Tho. Foster and Rd. Foster, and Jno. Todd and the school master that went over. . . ." See *Annual Catalogue*, p. 139 (1676: 70F).

hobbies at once. Aside from a general interest in Quakerism in Barbados, and in the writings and correspondence of George Fox, the following points attracted special attention:

(1) I have, like several other modern students of Quakerism, long been attracted to the problem of Quaker books for children. Here is the fullest description I have seen of the use of one such book by a Quaker schoolmaster.

(2) With their fresh interest in the "social order," modern Friends have naturally paid attention to the references in early Quaker records to the application of their principles to special occupations. Trade meetings held separately for concerned tailors or shoemakers or carpenters have been noted, especially in Ireland (see Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and Industry*). Here for the first time we learn of meetings of Quaker schoolmasters and meetings of merchants or shopkeepers in England and also in Barbados.

(3) In a contribution to a recent volume of studies in honor of Rufus M. Jones, called *Children of Light*, I collected what information I could upon "Hebraica and the Jews in Early Quaker Interest." I did not expect so soon to be able to add anything from Barbados, especially such an entertaining account of the use of Quaker documents among the Jews. Fox's paper of 1684 or '85 mentioned in my article (p. 151) is evidently the one referred to here.

(4) The relation of Quaker teachers to the tests of loyalty has also been a concern (not entirely impersonal) of the present writer. I had already noted in a book called *An Abridgement of the Laws in Force and Use in Her Majesty's Plantations*, 1704, p. 249, that among the laws in Barbados against the Quakers was one (Act 198) requiring of teachers in the island an oath of allegiance. The full text of the Act, dated 19 April, 1676, which further forbade the presence of Negroes at Quaker meetings, is given in Besse, ii, 308 f. The present letter records further threats of the curtailment of Quaker school teachers in Barbados.

The letter is reproduced herewith in full.

In the transcription of the seventh-century handwriting of the original, spelling and capitalization have been preserved but most of the abbreviations then customary have been spelled out. Thus y^{e} *the*, y^{t} *that*, y^{m} *them*,

y^s *this*, y^re *theire* (modern *their*), y^n *then* are printed in the expanded form, as are w^ch *which*, w^th *with*, o^r *our*, r^cd *received*, Pow^r *Power*, and W^m *William*. The MS regularly has J for capital *I*, as in Jt *It*, etc., and frequently & for *and*. Other contractions occur in run and Spanish, in which *n* with a line over it is used for *nn*, and in several words ending in *t*, as acc:t *account*, governm^t *government*, imploym^t *imployment*, imprisonm^t *imprisonment*. Many past participles written with *'d* in the MS are printed with *ed*, as in *pleased*, *mentioned*, *used*, *endeavoured*, *judged*, etc.; may'st is printed *mayest*.

[page 1] Barbadoes, the 27th of the 12th Month 1685/6

Dear Friend,
and Brother in
a Heavenly Relation,
Roger Longworth;

Thy Letter with the rest our Faithfull Friends and Bretheren we have recived,[5] and are glad if we have done anything wherein our Elders are well-pleased.

As for the Wicked, Envious, and Dark Apostates;[6] it is no wonder that they are run into the World again: for they that fight against the Truth. It is No strange thing for them to runn into the Untruth; and for them that resist the Power of God and the form of Godliness; for them to loose both Power and Form.

Your Letter hath been of Service in this place. And we are glad to heare of the Affairs and Concerns of Truth, both in England and other places; and that all faithfull Friends are Cleer of the late Rebellion.[7] Doubtless that thing is of a Good savour in the Nation, and the Magistrates do see that Friends are an Innocent and Peaceable People.

I desire thee to answer my request, mentioned in myne of the 8th of the 8th Month, 1685, concerning speaking to dear G. F. (and any other of the Faithfull Elders) concerning the Merchants and Shoppkeepers, Children, and School-Masters Meetings; and to desire him (if he finds freedom in the Lord) to write unto Friends here by way of Encourageing and Strengthning them in the practise thereof. These Meetings have been of Good Service; and the Lord's Blessed Power and Liveing Pres-

[5] This letter, if extant, has not been identified.

[6] Probably some members of the Wilkinson-Story party are alluded to.

[7] The Rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth which ended at the Battle of Sedgemoor. For the difficulties of Friends, and their final success in clearing themselves from suspicion, see W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism*, 121 ff., and the sources there listed. One of these is endorsed "friends Clearness in the Duke of Monmouths Insurrection 1685."

ence hath been liveingly manifested in the same: Notwithstanding some have Not been wanting to Oppose them, and used their endeavours, both to prevent their being, and afterwards, when they could Not succeed therein, then they endeavoured to hinder the Service of them; and have pleaded that there are No such Meetings in England, etc.

The Lord knows that it's the desire of my heart that Truth may Prosper; and that all the Professors thereof may be found in the Life and Practise of it.

It is very manifest, and well known unto them that have had the Concerns of the Churches Affairs and Prosperity upon them, that Meetings [page 2] of Business have been of Very Greate Service whereby to see into things; so that All may be keept Sweet and Clean; and that which is contrary may be keept down and judged. And we have had some experience of that Spirit which hath Opposed the Good Order of Truth;[8] and have found that (notwithstanding all their Specious pretences) the tendency of it hath been draw into Confusion, Disorder and Untruth.

The Lord preserve his Church and Family everywhere fr[om] that False and Wicked Spirit (which hath already prevailed upon to[o] many to their Hurt and Destruction) And endue them more and more with a sound understanding in All things; is the desire and breathing of my Soul unto him, who Alone hath to this very day and time preserved a remnant Faithfull unto himself in a Liveing Testimony for his Name; which is Worthy forever, and ever. Amen, A[men.]

From thy very loveing Friend and Fellow-Traviller
in the way of the Lord,

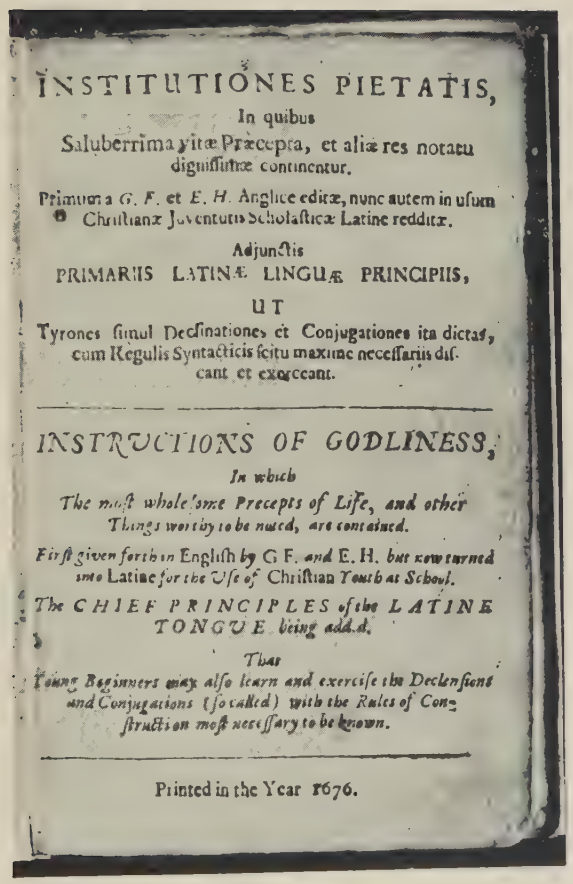
John Beeke

I have herein inclosed sent thee a Receipt of Jonathan Martin's for one Cask (viz, of Sweet-meets) which I hope is already received which I sent thee as a token of my dear love.

I have also herewith sent one cask of Sweet-meets by William Jorda[n] marked G. F N: 1 which I desire thee to deliver unto dear Geo[rge] Fox; to whom I desire thee to remember my dear Love, and tell him, and Friends, that the books which they sent were very kindly recieved; And also thou mayest inform dear G. F, that at our Childrens Meetings,[9] after the Meeting is

[8] Obscure references to difficulties of this sort in Barbados occur in other writings.

[9] Close in time (about 1680) as well as in place (West Indies) are the references to children's meetings by Joan Vokins. At Antigua she says: "On the seventh day is their children's meetings. . . . They teach their children G. F.'s catechism" (*God's Mighty Power Magnified*, reprinted



INSTITUTIONES PIETATIS,

In quibus

Saluberrima vitæ Præcepta, et aliæ res notatu dignissimæ continentur.

Primum a G. F. et E. H. Anglice editæ, nunc autem in usum Christianæ Juventutis Scholasticæ Latine redditæ.

Adjunctis

PRIMARIIS LATINÆ LINGUÆ PRINCIPIIS,

UT

Tyrones simul Declinationes et Conjugationes ita dictas, cum Regulis Syntacticis scitu maxime necessariis discant et exerceant.

INSTRUCTIONS OF GODLINESS,

In which

The most wholesome Precepts of Life, and other Things worthy to be noted, are contained.

First given forth in English *by* G. F. *and* E. H. *but now turned into* Latine *for the Use of* Christian *Youth at School.*

The CHIEF PRINCIPLES of the LATINE TONGUE being added,

That

Young Beginners may also learn and exercise the Declensions and Conjugations (so called) with the Rules of Construction most necessary to be known.

Printed in the Year 1676.

Title Page of an Early Quaker Primer
From a photograph of a copy in the Haverford College Library

well settled, then we hear the Children repeat the Childs Lesson, the Catechism and Proverbs without book, out of his Primer;[10] which we have found to be very Serviceable; And some of my Schollars have said it so very well and savorily that Friends have been Greatly refresht in the hearing of it. And people of the Worl[d] do come to hear the Children say their Catechisms at such Meetings; and it is of good Service.

I have a little boy (a Friends child that bords with me) of about Seven yeears of age that can say by heart, the Childs Lesson [page 3] Catechism and Proverbs, the marks of a True Christian, and some other pretty things in G. F's Primer; and moreover can readily construe the Latine Childs Lesson, Catechism and Proverbs out of Latine into English, and say part of

[10] In 1670 "G. and E. H." published *A Primer and Catechism for Children.* Ellis Hookes mentions it in a letter to George Fox in 1669 (Swarth. MSS i. 386). It is a duodecimo volume of 143 pages including among its divisions: "The Childs Lesson" (p. 14), "Marks of a True Christian" (p. 52), "Catechism" (p. 58), and "Proverbs" (p. 91), all of which titles are mentioned in this letter; but it has not any Latin as this letter implies. In 1676 Christopher Taylor enlarged this work, adding a preface, a grammar, etc., and printing all the above sections in both Latin and English in parallel columns. It is this bilingual edition, then, which had a different title in both languages, *Institutiones Pietatis* (see reproduction, opposite p. 102, of title page of the copy in Haverford College Library), which was used in Barbados. In Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books* these primers are listed not under Fox, but under Hookes (i, 970) and Taylor (ii, 694) respectively.

Cockermouth, 1871, p. 62 f.); and writing from Barbados to Rhode Island she says, "Here is at the West India Islands a very good precedent concerning children, and I could wish that it were so among the Lord's people everywhere. Friends children meet together once a week, and sit together with their parents, and wait upon the Lord, and are instructed, and they learn dear G. F.'s catechism at home, and then they say it at the meeting once a week, and I do believe that it produces a good effect" (*ibid.*, p. 76). Children's meetings were mentioned by Fox at London Yearly Meeting in 1677, as is now shown by the full text of his testimony on that occasion in the Richardson MSS, referred to in *Annual Catalogue*, p. 151 (1677: 4, 84G). The youth's meetings familiar in Philadelphia in the eighteenth century were, I think, for somewhat older persons.

If separate teachers' meetings are intended by George Fox in his letter to John Beeke quoted at the beginning of this article, we find parallels for them from Ireland and from the next century, as for various other trade meetings of Friends. See R. Barclay, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, p. 496.

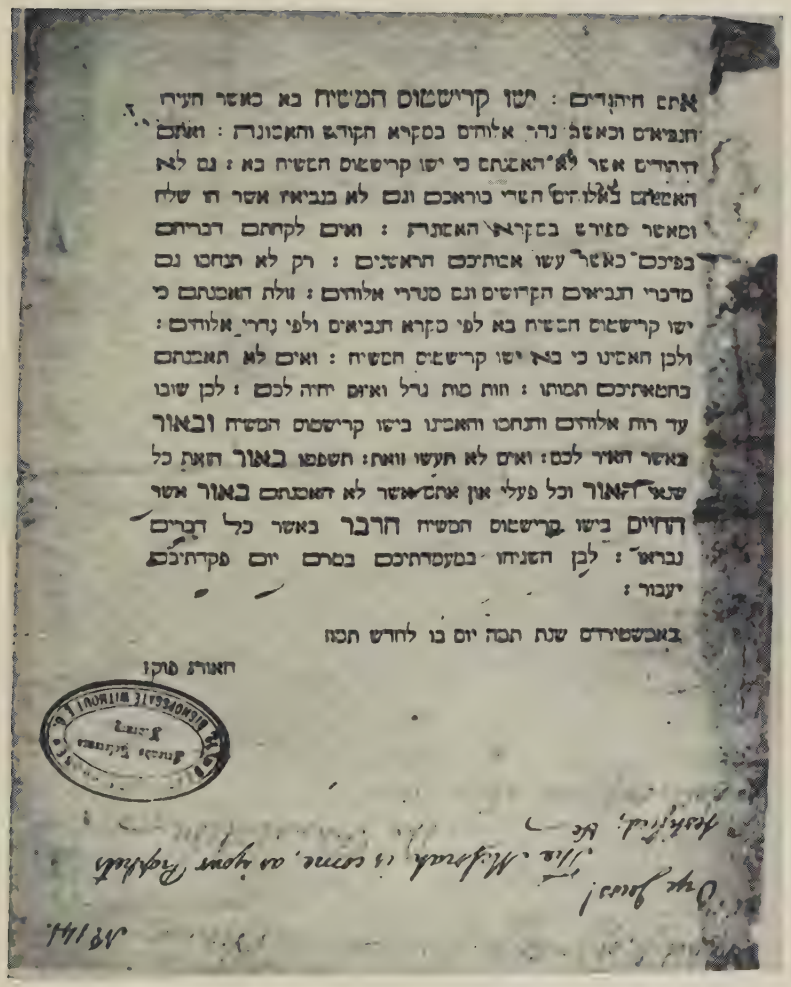
it without book, and can read in the Hebrew Bible, and can say many whole Chapters without book, and many Testimonies out of the Scriptures relating to Truths Principles, And also many of the People of the Worlds Children can say much of the Scriptures by heart and the Childs Lesson and Catechism.

Inform dear G. F. that I copied over divers of his Hebrew papers which were writt to the Jews;[11] And by reason many of them did Not understand Hebrew; them I writt Spannish Copies. The 2 Hebrew printed papers[12] was delivered to the Jews at their 2 Sinagogues;[13] at the one they were indifferent moderate

[11] The history of the Jews in Barbados remains to be written; but reference may be made to E. S. Daniels, *Extracts from Various Records of the Early Settlement of the Jews in the Island of Barbadoes*, privately printed, Bridgetown 1899; various notices in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, especially nos. 1, 5 and 18; and most recently and fully W. S. Samuel, "Review of the Jewish Colonists in Barbadoes, 1680," in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, 13 (1936), pp. 1-111. There is much information in the Calendars of State Papers. In 1681 the new governor Sir Richard Dutton reported that there were about two hundred and sixty Jews, men, women and children, either born on the island or made denizens by royal letters patent (*C. S. P., West Indies & America 1681-85*, p. 72). The Jews had come almost as early as the first settlement of the island in 1625—and not only from Europe, but from earlier American settlements in Brazil, Surinam, and Martinique. It is obvious therefore that many of them would understand Portuguese or Spanish better than English or Hebrew. The extant records on the island are some of them in the former languages.

[12] The "Hebrew printed papers" were probably the single sheet of which a copy is preserved at Friends House, London (see facsimile opposite). As the Hebrew date and signature indicate, it was written by George Fox in 1684 or '85 and addressed to the Jews in Holland. See *Annual Catalogue*, p. 181 (1684:32G), which shows that the English text was known also in Barbados. Any Hebraist will agree that the printed piece has "some litteral mistakes."

[13] Synagogues of the Jews are mentioned at Barbados as early as 1669. Nicholas Blake writing to the King on Feb. 28 of that year (1669/70) says, "The Quakers are erecting a house for their ceremonies; the Jews have their Sinagogs" (*C. S. P. America & West Indies 1699*, Addenda, p. 593). At least one of the two synagogues here mentioned must have been at Bridgetown, where 240 out of 300 Jews on the island lived in 1679. Then as a century later when James Cresson visited the island, the synagogue and burial ground of the Jews at Bridgetown was probably next to the meeting house and ground of the Friends, on Tudor Street (see the Philadelphia *Friend*, 71 (1898), p. 292; cf. 75 (1902), p. 245).


אתם היהודים : ישו קריסטוס המשיח בא כאשר חציו
הנביאים וכאשר נתן אלוהים בספרא הקודש והאמונה : ואתם
היהודים אשר לא האמנתם כי ישו קריסטוס המשיח בא : גם לא
האמנתם באלוהים חשרי טוראכם וגם לא בנביאו אשר הוא שלח
ומאשר מצוה בספרא האמתית : ואים לקחתם דבריהם
בפיכם כאשר עשו אבותיכם הראשנים : רק לא תחטו גם
מדברי הנביאים הקדושים וגם סנהדרי אלוהים : גולת האמנתם כי
ישו קריסטוס המשיח בא לפי כספרא הנביאים ולפי נדרי אלוהים :
ולכן האמינו כי בא ישו קריסטוס המשיח : ואים לא האמנתם
בחטאתיכם תמותו : חוות מות נרל ואים יהיה לכם : לכן שובו
עד רוח אלוהים ותחכו והאמינו בישו קריסטוס המשיח ובאור
באשר האיר לכם : ואים לא תעשו וואת : חשפטו באור חאת כל
שנעשה באור וכל פעלי און אתם אשר לא האמנתם באור אשר
הניח בישו קריסטוס המשיח הרבר באשר כל הדברים
נברא : לכן השניחו במעמדתיכם בטרם יום פקדתיכם
יעבור :

באכשטירדם שנת תבה יום בו לחדש תכה

חאורת פוקו

BIBLIOTHECA PUBLICA

Letter of George Fox, in Hebrew, to the Jews of Barbados
The library stamp, and the handwriting, appear to have been added by a person unfamiliar with Hebrew.

to Friends: but at the other they were Not. Some denyed the Truth of the Papers as to Substance, and also said that it was Not rightly printed: but as to that they were but some Litteral mistakes: and as for the Substance I have undertaken the proof of it by Scripture. And some of the Jews did grieviously Raile at, and abuse G. F.

I had at, and before the time of the delivery of those papers, a Jew for my Usher; who ushed to hear my Schollars read the New-Testament, and to hear the Children read, and say by heart the Childs Lesson and Catechism in G. F's Primer: But after the delivery of G. F's Papers to the Jews did much Vex and Perplex him; and particularly his Father told him (as he himself told me) that if he could Not get his Liveing unless he lived with a Christian; that then he should Not live in this Island: by reason of which he was very urgent with me to acquit him of my Service (for he had covenanted with me for about 6. Months) and after many entreaties I granted his request: but first gott him to write one of G. F's Hebrew papers, divers Testimonies relating to the Messiah, etc.

I have at times had severall Jews, both Men and Children, which I have taught in G. F's Primer, etc. One of which being a notable lively boy, had learnt part of the Childs Lesson by heart (chiefly, I believe, by hearing the other Children say it) and would say it at home to the People of the house and his Parents. I goeing one day to the Jews house, his Father called his Child, and bid him say it; And he began very prettily and boldly to say, Christ is the Truth; and so went on 'till his Mother began to be very Angry, [page 4] and called him Dog, and bid him hold his tongue.

Dear G. F's Primers are very serviceable in this place; I make great use of them in my School, and sell many of them in my Shopp both to Friends and the People of the World.

There are severall Friends now in this Island which teach Children; but there hath been some talk of late that the Governour will indeavour to prevent it.

We have agreed at our School-Masters Meeting to teach poor Children freely, and to turn no Children away upon the account

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The only other sizable group of Jews on the island at the time was at Speightstown. At least a century later a synagogue was there (pulled down by a mob in 1789: *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 22 (1914), p. 197 f.). In fact it appears to be mentioned in a Jewish will of 1707 as the Semah David, though there is reason to believe its members remained closely attached to the Nidhe Israel congregation at Bridgetown (Samuel, *loc. cit.*, 24, 57).

of Mony; And have a Collection at our Meetings (once a Month) which we lay out in books for the Poor, and other good uses; And many other good and wholesome things have we agreed upon; in the practise of which we have found very blessed effects.

People of the Worlds Children, many of them will say the Childs Lesson, Catechism and Proverbs without book, and many whole Chapters, besides many Testimonies out of the Scriptures relating to Truths Principles, as the Light etc. and do come very orderly to Meetings; And the Parents seem to be very well satisfied in our Teaching, and way of Government.

I being formerly before Governour Dutton [14] about Truths Affairs, he hinted unto me that he must not suffer those to teach Children, that would teach them to be disobedient and rebellious against Government, etc. To which I answered to this purpose, viz^{t}, Indeed Governour, I am Not sensible of any such Teachers, especially amongst the People called Quakers; to which he replyed to this purpose, viz^{t}, Well, well, I must Not suffer it. To which I said, it is my case (meaning relating to the Teaching of Children) and I think it is very hard (since I have lost a Very Considerable Estate for my Religion) Not to be suffered to take an Honest care to gett my Livelyhood: But he goeing off, I have Not as yet been troubled upon that Account: I do desire to be advised what it will be best for me to do, if so be I should be troubled upon that Account; for I could rather suffer any Fine or Imprisonment upon that Account if so be it may be for Truths Service and Advantage: for I am very well satisfied in that imployment; And I do at present teach Children Not for Necessity: but for Truths Advantage and theire Good; And I do believe I should do the same if the Lord should be pleased to bring it so to pass that I should injoy my Fathers estate again. Children in this Country have been Generally ruined and undone as to Truth for want of good order and government. The Lord work a change for the future is the fervent desire of my Soul. I conclude with my dear love to thee and to all faithfull Friends and Bretheren in those parts.

J. B.

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[14] At the time of writing the governor was Edwin Stede. Sir Richard Dutton had been governor from 1680 to 1685. It is said by V. T. Harlow, *A History of Barbados 1625-1685,* 1926, p. 249, but without reference to his source, that under Dutton's administration "many of the schoolmasters were found to be Quakers and Anabaptists. All therefore who refused the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were ejected."

WILLIAM PENN, PRAGMATIST

By E. C. O. Beatty

[*Conclusion*]

LIKE idealists of later centuries Penn considered rural life much to be preferred to urban. Agriculture was one of "God's trades," and, therefore, to be chosen above all other occupations. He entertained the fervent desire to retire to the more primitive environment of the New World and spend his own days in this country life. He contemplated the prospect of living in rustic comfort as a country squire with evident satisfaction, and until the end of his active life he never renounced the intention of adopting a permanent residence in Pennsylvania.

The royal charter of 1681 conferred upon Penn the ownership of a truly princely domain and made of him in some respects a feudal lord. He believed that the proprietor's rights to the soil were perpetual and, therefore, that he might reserve to himself not only quitrents but a proportion of the mineral wealth discovered. He soon reversed his earlier policy of refusing to grant monopolies to trading companies. The large powers assigned to the council under the first Frame have been interpreted as a concession to the class of greater landed proprietors represented by that body. Like the tidewater landlords of other colonies, Penn soon found himself vexed by squatters who regarded with indifference the proprietor's demands for quitrents. He noted in other matters, morever, a disappointing lack of respect among the colonists for the rights of property. As in his persistent battle in England for the abstract principle of religious toleration, so for more material ends in the New World he based his argument upon the historic English right of ownership. He sought, with characteristic paternalism, to develop a program of conservation and internal improvements by positive, as well as restrictive, legislation.

Penn opened his province to the poor and oppressed dissenters not only of England but of the Continent as well. He welcomed the immigration of many of this humbler sort, who were able to take up and cultivate only the smaller tracts of land. He encour-

aged the coming of white bound servants, who at the close of their service would join the class of small farmers owning the soil they tilled. He opposed the forfeiture of the property of intestates and perhaps also of suicides. Though such a provision did not appear in the first Frame as promulgated in 1682, Penn's earlier draft of the document abolished primogeniture.

His maxims as to laborers were those of the employing class and were deeply affected by Biblical preachments. The virtues of servants were shown, in his opinion, largely in faithfulness to the interests of the master. With regard to the obligations of the latter, less was said. Nevertheless, among the laws in Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties were many provisions designed to protect servants from exploitation by the master. Penn, on the other hand, was much troubled by runaway servants and by clandestine marriages among them; and he felt it necessary to take stern measures to restrict such evils. His attitude with respect to these problems was colored by sympathy for the rights of property.

William Penn once denied that anyone might justly gain through another's labor "but by consent." Nevertheless, he owned Negro slaves. He attempted in some particulars, notably with respect to marriage, to alleviate their condition; and it has been stated, without much evidence, that he had some concern for their immortal souls. He left no extant comment as to the famous remonstrance of the people of Germantown in 1688 or the known attitude of the Philadelphia Meeting of 1696 on the subject of slavery. He liberated his blacks in the will of 1701. In his last will no mention is made of slaves.

Penn's characteristic conservatism revealed itself consistently in his respect for the rights of property, for vested interests, for the inviolability of contract, for law and order. In his earlier moralizings he denounced the sin of covetousness and advised against the acquisition of wealth as an end in itself. He condemned the greedy rich who desired immoderately great fortunes, and he counseled the poor to "be patient and trust in the Lord," advice always satisfactory to the propertied classes. He suggested on one occasion, however, that the reason for poverty was the cupidity of the wealthy and recommended vaguely "a

standard both as to the value and time of traffic," by means of which inequitable distribution might to some degree be remedied. Usually, however, he did not venture upon such dangerous ground. The theory exemplified so notably in his own life he put into words, the doctrine followed by the modern philanthropist, the obligation of the wealthy to use their means for altruistic or social ends.

He wished legal protection for the creditor classes against defaulting debtors; but in his published draft of the first Frame, where the sum involved was but ten pounds or less, he opposed imprisonment for debt. Though later in life he was himself obliged to suffer such a penalty at the hands of his dishonest agents, the Fords, his attitude with respect to this practice had other roots. One important reason may have been his desire to attract increased immigration to his province from the less prosperous classes. Another seems to have been the natural repugnance of a compassionate man to a penalty which he thought merely "unprofitable revenge."

In Quaker fashion Penn denounced extravagance. He frankly proposed a luxury tax as a remedy. "Let pride pay, and excess be well excised." He approved the taxation of liquor; but in the early days of his colony he refused to accept the proffered receipts from an import tax upon such commodities, or any other goods, on the ground that such taxes would "cramp the industry of the people." He did not believe in the benefit theory of taxation, nor did he consider taxation in practice as an important protective or regulative device. For him it was chiefly a means of revenue. He believed in poll taxes, as well as in imposts upon skins, rum, and sugar as sources of a "supply" for a provincial government. For the same purpose he approved a land tax. Tithes he vigorously opposed. He may have seen the injustice of a scheme of taxation not based on ability to pay, but the system adopted in Pennsylvania indicated no marked enlightenment on his part.

He sought with loyalty to fulfill the obligations imposed upon him by the English authorities with reference to imperial finance. Consequent upon his enforcement of the acts of trade, he could boast a considerable increase in the customs collected in his

province. He emphasized the King's letter to the assembly on the subject of an appropriation to aid in imperial defense, but he declined to support the proposal in any more personal way.

BEING a trader, Penn sympathized to some extent with colonial views of money. He felt the scarcity of it in the province and acquiesced in some of the measures taken by the legislature to keep in Pennsylvania all the specie that could be retained. He approved the conciliar attempt in 1701 to check the flow of money to East Jersey by encouraging the raising of cattle west of the Delaware. He approved the use of barter; and suggested "paper credit" to replace silver in his colony, a land bank, a colonial mint, and finally assignable bonds to serve as legal tender. Perhaps partly because he was a creditor, he opposed counterfeiting, preferred that money in the colonies be kept at a single standard, and disapproved of Pennsylvania laws raising the rate of exchange above that of other English colonies. In these reactions he was in harmony with the expressed policies of the English government.

He accepted in general the mercantilist theories of his day. He believed in colonization and justified it on economic grounds. He wrote: "It is trade must make America valuable to England." Supporting in practice the British navigation acts, he suppressed piracy and unlawful trading. Yet looking beyond the current doctrines, he considered colonies "the seeds of nations" and decried the materialistic dictum of contemporaries that wealth and commerce measure the greatness of nations.

Penn's writings offer evidence that his support of the British commercial system was the product of other considerations as much perhaps as of purely mercantilist theories. He believed in the Quaker doctrines of submission to government and in law and order; thus, his religious sense inclined him to resist lawlessness of any sort. He was unfeignedly loyal, moreover, to the government of the Stuarts, Charles and James and Anne. If he was not an enthusiastic supporter of William III, he had at least the strongest reasons for not incurring the ill will of that monarch by any failure to execute the colonial policies of the government. Reports of illegal trading in the waters of the Delaware

provoked him to stern reproaches of the colonists and to emphatic and sometimes apologetic professions of good intentions to the Board of Trade. His policy shows clearly the most earnest desire not to give occasion for the forfeiture of his patent.

He desired to protect home industry; therefore, he licensed traders and imposed penalties upon interlopers. Monopoly he praised as a means of preventing inimical competition. With reference not only to trade and industry but also to landholding and agriculture Penn was definitely a paternalist. The *Colonial Records* of Pennsylvania offer many examples of governmental regulation of private economic activity. Penn was no believer in economic individualism.

His views in some respects were antimercantilistic. He objected, for example, to the administration of the English Woolens Act of 1699. As the owner of Irish lands, he criticized the English restrictions upon the importation of Irish sheep. He believed in the diversification of production in Ireland and he wished, therefore, to limit the weaving of woolen goods there to the coarser stuffs and to encourage the linen industry. He sought in Pennsylvania to increase the exportable staples by adding rice, whale oil, and codfish to the tobacco and furs already shipped abroad in quantity. When, during the War of the Spanish Succession, the British laws of trade were relaxed, Penn urged the opening of commerce between his colony and the Spanish West Indies.

His correspondence indicates more than a mere academic interest in the trade of his province. His own fortunes were affected by the ebb and flow of commerce. With respect to economic theories more perhaps than in other fields of thought, self-interest played a discernible part in the formulation of his philosophy. He was basically a mercantilist, but he forsook that role when to do so meant greater advantage for himself or his colonies. He was in religion and politics an outstanding individualist, but in economics he was certainly a paternalist. In his advocacy of political restrictions upon industry and commerce and of artificially stimulated diversity of production, he exhibited some of the economic theories which seem to characterize more modern exponents of a "planned economy."

PENN'S views of the nature of the family approached more closely the conceptions set forth in Scriptures than the theories advanced by modern sociologists. The family to him was much more than a primary societal organism bound together by ties of blood and affection; it was also a religious, social, educational, economic, and to an extent a political unit. The father, head of the family, was the ruler of the group. Yet it should be noted that Penn also declared that as between husband and wife nothing should rule but love. To the parents the children owed obedience, and he once asserted that the obligation to obey parents was only less sacred than that to obey the Almighty. Almost like a believer in the Roman *patria potestas* he once wrote that the father owned the children.

Though the evidence for such an assertion lies more in his actions than in his writings, Penn's views of population increase indicate that probably in spirit he was a Cameralist. He emphasized the desirability of marriage, and he deemed the postponement of such union a misfortune. He proposed, early in the course of the "holy experiment," that a law be enacted in Pennsylvania to compel all young men of a certain age to marry. By two wives he was the father of a numerous progeny, of whom about one-half lived to maturity. One of his aphorisms might be interpreted to mean that he at least thought of the possibility of what might now be termed eugenic marriage. He accepted the democratic Quaker wedding, but he also demanded the essential prerequisite of this ceremony, the searching consultation of parents or guardians to determine "the parties' clearness of all other engagements." He applied this policy to the marriage of bound servants in Pennsylvania in quite undemocratic fashion, and the problem of preventing clandestine marriages occupied a large part of his attention.

Penn's attitude toward women thus exemplified some surprisingly democratic notions in a pattern fundamentally patriarchal. Though in his view, the wife was far above the status of mere property, she was still the weaker vessel. He insisted upon separate meetings for women in order to promote greater democracy in religious exercises, perhaps because he did not believe in the equality of the sexes. The early laws in Pennsylvania

discriminated in some respects against women. On the other hand, Penn's conception of woman as a member of society was quite in advance of his day, for some evidence exists to show that he may have believed in the single standard of morals.

His views on education were a blend of the Quaker contempt for vain learning and the belief that children should be taught the essentials of a useful and virtuous life. He emphasized in his *Fruits of Solitude* the desirability of teaching that which is practical, particularly vocational skills. He believed in character education. Apart from the pious exhortations in the letters to his children, such objectives for education appear in the *Essay towards the . . . Peace of Europe* as the teaching of youth to avoid effeminacy: "how to be useful and serviceable, both to themselves and others; and how to save and help, not injure or destroy." Penn indicated both by word and deed his belief in the principle of public education.

IN THE famous *Description of Pennsylvania,* Penn stated the theory upon which he appears to have based his Indian policy. "Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them." If his account of the savages appear now to be fanciful, the success of his relations with them is convincing proof that he understood their psychology. He was realist enough to have observed correctly the evil results which association with the whites had so frequently worked among the natives; and his Quaker humanitarianism urged him to deal justly with those whom he counted brothers, though of another race. There is evidence, however, that this simple sense of justice does not adequately explain his policy. His letters to the Indians, written before he had left England, were eminently tactful. Couched in the most conciliatory language, they were attempts to lay the basis for future friendly relations. They promised the Indians justice and peace, but they also explicitly foreshadowed negotiations for trading privileges. So well were the foundations laid that Penn was able later to secure agreements with the natives that they would refuse to trade with any but those licensed by the Proprietor. Subsequent negotiations reveal the Founder not only as a buyer of Indian lands, but as a diplomat, building of

the friendly Indian tribes a buffer to protect Pennsylvania against hostile savages and the Canadian French.

Penn assumed a quite paternalistic attitude in dealing with individual Indians. Even in the matter of buying land from the natives, he made some assumptions that are highly questionable except on the theory that the Indians were legal infants and that he was possessed of authority to determine what lands they should sell. Regulations were established to protect the natives from the rapacity of white traders. Strong drink was excluded from the Indian trade. Special provisions were set up to protect the rights of the red men in the courts and one of the twenty conditions and concessions of 1681 granted to the Indians in the land that was soon not to be theirs the same right to improve the soil that the new masters claimed.

For all of Penn's earlier idealism, he never accepted the sentimentalist's theory of the perfectibility of man. If human beings were to be sinless, they must wait for such a condition until the coming of a better world. Neither did Penn believe in essential human equality, for he recognized differences in endowment and in education. But he was an equalitarian with reference to the law. Every man was entitled to equal justice from the state. To each was given equal right to realize his highest possibilities.

Penn's writings urge, at times, the Quaker doctrine of submission to authority; frequently they express the Quaker attitude of resignation in a world of sin and injustice. More often, however, Penn was a rebel, unwilling to suffer oppression patiently or to tolerate evil in silence. The sins of ostentation and luxury were among the vices which he found it easiest to denounce. More serious evils were forbidden trade, piracy, vicious public houses, unlicensed dispensaries of intoxicants, unregulated inns. Strong drink was not forbidden in Penn's moral code. He used liquor moderately and owned and operated a brewery. With respect to the Indians, however, intoxicants must be prohibited, or at least sold only under carefully prescribed conditions. Drinking was a luxury which merited taxation. Witchcraft, so serious a development in Massachusetts, was relatively unimportant in Pennsylvania. Though Penn presided at the trial of a woman accused of being a witch, his

instructions to the jury cleared her of the indictment. It is not certain from his writings that Penn believed or disbelieved in witchcraft. The evidence is plain with respect to dueling. Legislation was enacted in Pennsylvania under the Founder's leadership to make the practice illegal.

On the subject of poverty William Penn accepted the dictum of Jesus that we shall always have the poor among us. He thought, in fact, that poverty existed as part of God's plan to test the more highly favored of His children. Charity was a duty of mankind. Moreover, aside from individual almsgiving, there should be public charity administered by the local governments. Penn carried this theory into practice in his province, where he recommended generous treatment for the widow, the orphan, and the stranger. He considered public health properly a matter of governmental concern. He charged the responsibility for beggary largely to society, a view more widely accepted in our day than in his.

Penn repeatedly asserted that one of the chief reasons for government was the suppression of crime. He believed that ordinarily convicted criminals should be punished according to the letter of the law; strict justice in such cases was usually superior to mercy. He sometimes expressed the Biblical notion about the depravity of the human race. Nevertheless, he brought to America remarkably advanced views about the treatment of offenders against the law. The first criminal code set up in Pennsylvania during his regime was a notably enlightened document. Though it defined a long list of offences, some of which certainly would not be thought matter for such notice today, it prescribed the death penalty for but one crime, murder. The royal charter had made treason also a capital offence. Some of the crimes against property were to be punished on the principle of restitution. The later code of 1700-1701 was more severe. It specified mutilation and branding for some crimes and imposed the penalty of death for four. Penn's views on prison administration were much more humane than were those prevalent in the England of his day.

It is as a humanitarian rather than as a political or economic theorist that William Penn exhibits most freedom from the

practical considerations that warp the philosophy of men. He was, as such, more consistent, unlimited by the necessity of conforming to the exigencies of English or colonial politics, and unbound by distracting economic motives. His great enterprise in the New World was most truly a "holy experiment" as an endeavor to set up a social order blessed with religious toleration and controlled by humanitarian ideals. His religion is the key to his humanitarianism and to the political liberalism which characterized his earlier career. He was not a philosophic democrat, but he was a friend of man.

When he died on July 30, 1718, two groups oppressed by their contemporaries remembered that he had had principles. A meeting of Friends and a tribe of Indians recalled that William Penn had raised his voice for liberty and for justice.

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS

By Thomas E. Drake

The Friend (London)

A NEWLY PUBLISHED letter of John Bright shows how he influenced London Yearly Meeting of 1847 to consider seriously and take a definite stand against capital punishment. April 26, 1940, pp. 240-41.

The October 4 session of the Meeting for Sufferings in Leicester was the first assembly of the executive body of London Yearly Meeting outside of London since it first gathered there in 1676. In this connection it was recalled that the most prominent Quaker family in the Leicester area was that of the Ellises, who were railway owners and members of Parliament in the nineteenth century. Oct. 4, 1940, p. 563.

Friends Intelligencer

BIRMINGHAM Meeting celebrated its 250th anniversary on Tenth Month 6. Following a meeting for worship, impersonations of Friends of former times were given, and papers were read on the history of the meeting. These papers have been printed in an anniversary volume, *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Quakerism at Birmingham*, which is obtainable through S. Ralph Passmore, West Chester No. 6, Pa., price $1.50. Nov. 9, 1940, p. 726.

The American Friend

TO THE ISSUE of April 11, 1940 (pp. 148-149), Russell Pope of Guilford College contributes an essay on "The Barclays—Father and Son."

Russell Pope contributes another Guilford College lecture on "Robert Barclay, Apologist" (pp. 212-214), and Mary Baker, recalling the fact that this is the hundredth anniversary of the death of Daniel Wheeler, reviews the course of his life and travels in the ministry in "A Quaker Odyssey" (pp. 217-219). May 23, 1940.

President Clyde A. Milner of Guilford College is the author of "George Fox—A Portrait." June 6, 1940, p. 234.

RUSSELL POPE

We record with sorrow the death of Dr. Russell Pope, of Guilford College, part author of the note on *Quakerism and French Quietism* on page 93 of this issue. His associate, Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, contributes the following brief biography:

Russell Pope was born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1892, was graduated from Amherst in 1913, obtained a master's degree from Columbia, and studied in France and Germany before enlisting in 1917. He saw active service in France as first lieutenant in the infantry, and after an interval spent in private business became instructor in French at New York University in 1923. His doctorate was conferred by that institution in 1932.

Because of a deep interest in the Society of Friends, which he joined some time after the War, he left New York University for Guilford College in 1935. His creative force made a deep impression upon the college; he assisted with college publications, helped to plan and give various series of college lectures, and was continuously engaged in research and writing. He published two books of poems, one in 1933 and the other in 1935. His dissertation, *Nature in the Work of Camille Lemonnier*, won him a decoration from the Belgian government. Recently his interest in Quakerism had resulted in the printing of the lectures *Concerning Mysticism*, the series on Quaker founders printed in the American Friend last spring, and four articles centering around French Quietism and its relation to Quakerism. Much of the preliminary work for a biography, *The Excellent Madame Guyon*, was done. He died on July 16, 1940, two weeks after a major operation. Guilford College mourns the loss of this scholar and poet.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Quakers and Negro Slavery, by Herbert Aptheker, in *The Journal of Negro History*, xxv (July, 1940), pp. 331-362.

THIS study of antislavery history is an attempt to tell the world what Friends, at least, already know, that the Quaker testimony against slavery was a product of the slow growth of the Quaker conscience, not of Quaker thought in its earliest stages. It summarizes the story as it is told in various secondary sources. Reliance on these sources and an unfamiliarity with Quaker organization and methods of procedure have resulted in a number of curious errors. The author speaks, for instance (p. 352), of the "Yearly Meetings" of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Western Maryland, and Virginia as sending an antislavery memorial to Congress in 1783. He apparently does not realize that this was a single organization, the same one now referred to as Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Again, on p. 354, note 74, he says that Moses Brown taught Negroes. No one who knew the career of this Providence merchant and Quaker philanthropist would ever place Moses Brown in the category of a mere school teacher!

THOMAS E. DRAKE

Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers, Compiled in 1694-1697. Edited (with omissions and additions) by Henry J. Cadbury. London and Philadelphia 1939. 7+219 pp.

The Swarthmore Documents in America. Edited by Henry J. Cadbury. Supplement No. 20 to the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society.* London 1940. 90 pp.

THESE two books recently edited by Henry J. Cadbury make a mass of source material available to the researcher in early Quaker history. Neither is likely to be read by anyone but a specialist; but like Hinshaw's monumental *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* they are books which the specialist sooner or later will have to consult.

The former makes available the substance of the great manuscript catalog of Fox's writings prepared by his literary executors shortly after his death, called originally an "annual" catalog because an attempt was made to list each piece under the year in which it was written. Many of the 5,000-odd items have never been printed and are now entirely lost; but the method of the cataloger, of quoting a few words at the beginning and often a few of the last words, often gives a clue to the contents. The executors printed Fox's *Journal* in 1694, and included a large number of the items in that; and his *Epistles* in 1698. All the items then that had been printed in 1698 are omitted from the *Catalogue*, but those printed at a later date, and those still in manuscript, are listed, often with illuminating notes.

Quaker scholars may rejoice in the breadth of knowledge, the ability to interpret obscure hints, and the devoted labor involved in comprehending and digesting this mass of material and editing it into convenient form. And Henry Cadbury should write for the layman an account of the methods he used—of his searches, his clues, his guesses, and the strokes of good luck that seem to come preëminently to those most competent to use them.

The second volume, though it will be useful to Quaker scholars everywhere, is perhaps mainly intended to be of use to research workers outside America, since it publishes material not available in foreign libraries. The great collection of Quaker papers at Swarthmore Hall was not kept intact, but much of it was dispersed, and some of the original documents have found their way to this country. Henry Cadbury, in his extensive work in collections where such manuscripts are likely to be found, has located some thirty-five of these, and publishes them *verbatim et literatim*. Twenty are letters of George Fox, four are letters to Fox, ten are to Margaret Fox. One of these is from George, her husband, written from Worcester, and telling of the plight of the poor: "Wheat was the last sevent day at seven & six pence abueshell & 4 shilens pease & barly & woats 2 shilens abueshell & the poore people ar redy to mutany . . . but the lordes power is over all. g F"

T. K. B.

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

AMONG the discoveries made by our friend Gerhard Friedrich at the Juniata College Library, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, and reported in the *Library Journal* 65 (1940), p. 70, is a parchment which lists in the handwriting of Francis Daniel Pastorius the first sixty-four settlers of Germantown, Pennsylvania, to be naturalized. The list is closely like the later copies used by W. I. Hull and others.

AN ILLUSTRATED booklet of varied contents has been published by The Lundy Memorial Committee of the John Swaney School Alumni and the Society of Friends on the occasion of the centennial of Lundy's death, entitled "A Memorial to Benjamin Lundy, Pioneer Quaker Abolitionist 1789-1839," n.p., n.d. It includes among other items a facsimile of the last issue of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* that Lundy edited, a sketch of his life by Fred Landon, biographical outline, and bibliography.

JACQUELINE OVERTON has written a simple and comprehensive account of "The Quakers on Long Island" in *New York History*, vol. 21 (1940), pp. 151-161.

"THE STRANGE CAREER of Peter Sonmans" by Milton Rubicam, in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, 57 (1939), 230-251, deals with a son of a well-known Quaker of the early days, Arent Sonnemans (1627-1686) of Rotterdam and of Wallingford, Scotland. About 1686 the son came to East Jersey as proprietor. He was active in the affairs of the colony until his death in 1734. He was buried at St. John's churchyard, Elizabeth, N. J. Whether he had ever been a Friend is not known. His business record is not altogether savory.

OTHERS have written about Friends in medicine but nowhere will one find so much information condensed into such small compass as in Cyril C. Barnard's forty pages on "Quaker Contributions to Medicine and Public Health" in *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, nos. 284 (10 mo. 1937), 307-326, and 285 (1 mo. 1938), 69-88. Appropriate attention is given to the American branch of Quakerdom. It is not surprising that some omissions can be noted. One thinks of Dr. William Hillary of Barbados and London, and of Friends Asylum for the Insane at Frankford, Pennsylvania.

IN *Radical Religion*, vol. 4, no. 3, pp. 28-31 (summer 1939), Patrick Murphy Malin discusses from the present rather than from the historical viewpoint "Quaker Economic Concern."

AN essay by W. K. Jordan on "Sectarian Thought and its Relation to the Development of Religious Toleration 1640-1660," of which the first part appears in *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. iii, no. 2 (Jan. 1940), deals not only with the contemporaries of early Quakerism but explicitly (pp. 211-223) with the Quakers.

THE President for 1937 of the Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature, and Art was Professor Walter J. Harte. His presidential address on "Ecclesiastical and Religious Affairs in Exeter, 1640-62," printed in the *Report and Transactions*, 59, pp. 41-72, concludes with a few pages on "Quakers and Witches and other Offenders."

THE VETERAN historian of Quakerism in Lancashire, Robert Muschamp of Bury, contributes to the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 53 (1938), 131-139, a paper on "Friends' Disused Burial Grounds in Lancashire." Thirty-four such cemeteries are listed with notes upon each, including references to early minutes about them or to printed accounts of recent visits to them.

A BEAUTIFUL sketch, written for private circulation by J[udith] M[atlack] of her father, is entitled *Charles Matlack: an Impression* (Warren Publications Press, Cambridge, Mass.). Charles Matlack (1849-1933) of Germantown, Philadelphia, and Boston, was a man of originality,

versatility, and strong character. He was a Quaker of the olden time in many respects. The lights and shades of such a personality are worth recording when filial piety is so blended with objective understanding and literary charm.

A SYMPATHETIC account of the "Spiritual Adventures of Stephen Grellet," by Muriel Kent, appeared in the *Congregational Quarterly*, xiv (1936), 324-332.

LETTERS from America in 1757, hitherto unpublished, one from John Woolman and one from John Pemberton, were contributed by Henry J. Cadbury to *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, no. 293 (1 mo. 1940). They are characteristic of the two aspects of the Friends' peace testimony.

FOR LOCAL Quaker history in East London and in Bristol reference may be made to short sections in the following recent volumes respectively: Sir Hubert Ll. Smith, *The History of East London*, London, Macmillan, p. 148 ff., and C. M. MacInnes, *A Gateway of Empire*, London, Arrowsmith, p. 126 ff. The latter deals primarily with the affairs of Penn and the settlement of Pennsylvania and with the relation of Quakers to privateering and to involuntary migration.

TO THE LIST of American novels with Quaker characters should be added Ben Ames's *Thread of Scarlet*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1939. The scene is laid among the Nantucket whalers.

A MEATY and well documented study of "Deviation toward Ideas of Natural Ethics in the Thought of William Penn" is published by Irvin Goldman in *Philological Quarterly*, xviii (1939), 337-352. The contemporary tendency in England away from authority to individualism came to an extreme in Quakerism. Penn with his wide education, reading, and experience shows this tendency in the following norms for his ethics: the Inner Light, a Platonic bent, reason as a guide, the lessons of nature, and primitivism. Dr. Goldman elaborates his argument under each of these five headings.

LARGELY genealogical, *Peter Wright and Mary Anderson*, by Ernest Neall Wright (Ann Arbor 1939, 135 pp. with illustrations and index), contains also much of considerable general interest. Peter Wright and Sons, founded in 1818, was an internationally known crockery firm in Philadelphia, and in addition owned several important steamship lines. Their ancestors migrated to Maryland about 1688 and were Quakers, their descendants were also many of them Friends (Hicksite), though evidently not all, as witness the extensive family war records (pp. 107-117). The book includes considerable information about the group so much like Friends, called Nicholites.

THE TRADITION or legend that Hannah Lightfoot, who was disowned in 1756 by Westminster Monthly Meeting for being married by a priest, was really the wife of George III, is retold with careful analysis of the evidence in *The Lovely Quaker*, by John Lindsey (London, Rich and Cowan, 1939, 322 pp.).

"THE ORGANIZATION of Friends' Meeting of Norristown," by Helen E. Richards, is published in the *Bulletin of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*, 2 (1939), 39-50. The records, which are used in detail, begin in 1842.

THERE is a chapter on the Quakers in a somewhat amorphous collection of data, John Bennett Bodie's *Seventeenth Century Isle of Wight County, Virginia*, Chicago, Chicago Law Printing Co., 1938, pp. 111-123. After a description of Quaker persecution in Norfolk County the genealogy and memorials are given of the Jordan family, which was the leading Quaker family of Isle of Wight and Nansemond.

DAVID M. SCHNEIDER'S *History of Public Welfare in New York State 1609-1866* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1938, 395 pp.) includes, in proportion to its scope, considerable reference to the educational and philanthropic work of Friends, including the Thomas School for Indians and other work for the Cattaraugus Indians, and also to the activities of Thomas Eddy.

SIXTEEN classical statements by Friends of their pacifist position occupy the fifty pages of *Friends: Some Quaker Peace Documents 1654-1920* (Peace Classics vol. iv, London, Peace Book Co., 1939). The introduction and notes are supplied by G. W. Knowles. Besides joint utterances are quotations from the following individuals: Fox, Penn, Pennington, Barclay, J. Dymond, E. Grubb, and W. Blair Neatby.

WALTER STEVENS, "A History of Baptists in Oxford," in *The Chronicle, A Baptist Historical Quarterly*, ii (1939), 171-174, includes some references to the parallel experiences of local Friends in the earlier days.

JOHN HOWARD (1726-1790), Hospital and Prison Reformer: A Bibliography, by Leona Baumgartner (Johns Hopkins Press, 1939) is a careful illustrated 79-page study of works by and about John Howard, who if not a Friend was intimately associated with Friends. For some forty-one works or editions attributed to him copies in over a hundred libraries are listed.

TWO brief illustrated articles on the Bartrams appeared in 1939 from the pen of Francis Harper of Swarthmore. One on "William Bartram's Bicentennial" was in *The Scientific Monthly*, 48, 380-384. The

other was printed in the *Bulletin of the Garden Club of America* in September 1939, pp. 54-64, and is entitled "The Bartram Trail through the Southeastern States." The latter describes some of the author's experiences in attempting to identify locally the places and plants described by the Quaker botanists in the unpublished MSS which the author is editing (see this BULLETIN 29 (1940), p. 45). Attention may also be called to the earlier and more technical article by the same author: "The *Vultur Sacra* of William Bartram," printed in *The Auk*, 53 (1936), 381-392.

WHETHER in England or New England the conflict of Puritan and early Quaker ought to be susceptible at this late date of objective treatment. Genuinely objective is an understanding study of the political, psychological, and religious aspects of the matter by Geoffrey F. Nuttall in the *Congregational Quarterly*, xvi (1938), 315-320.

IN AN ESSAY on "The American Churches and the Mexican War" by C. S. Elsworth, in *The American Historical Review* xlv (Jan. 1940), 301-326, it is asserted that only the Friends, the Unitarians, and the Congregationalists consistently opposed the war.

MILTON RUBINCAM, Corresponding Secretary of the National Genealogical Society, has an article in the *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, 58 (1940), 103-118, "Lydia Wright and her Sisters: The Quaker Maidens who Defied the Stern Puritans." Amid extensive genealogical data, mostly relegated to footnotes, is told the unusual story of Mary, Hannah, and Lydia Wright, three of the many children of Peter Wright, one of the founders of Oyster Bay. All three of them traveled to Boston to rebuke the authorities for their persecution of the Quakers. Mary at the age of 18 appeared there soon after the death of Mary Dyer in 1660 and was banished; Hannah, aged 16, did the same in 1662, while Lydia, aged 16, appeared in the Old South Church with Margaret Brewster in 1677 and shared her subsequent punishment. Religious journeyings took Hannah to Maryland and Virginia, where she was drowned in 1675, and Lydia to the West Indies in 1682. She married Isaac Horner in 1684; and like her sister Mary, who had married Samuel Andrews in 1663, migrated to Burlington County, New Jersey.

QUAKER antecedents, derived from an examination of minutes, are given in the opening pages of the biography, *Master of the Wilderness: Daniel Boone*, by John Bakeless, New York, Morrow & Co., 1939.

IN CONNECTION with the Bicentennial of the University of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia Museum of Art arranged an exhibition in the spring of 1940, primarily genre scenes of life in Philadelphia, including paintings, water colors, prints, silhouettes, furniture, and costumes. Naturally much of Quakerism—persons, places, etc.—is included. The

issue of the *Philadelphia Museum Bulletin*, xxxv (1940), no. 186, which gives an illustrated catalog of eighty-three oil paintings in the exhibition, gives an account of the colonial city (Monopolis) as pictured in an unfinished novel by Owen Wister.

THOUGH not dealing specifically with Quaker history, Arthur D. Graeff's monograph on "The Relations between the Pennsylvania Germans and the British Authorities (1750-1776)" in vol. 47 (1939), of the Pennsylvania German Society publications, has to do with a group that in politics was closely allied with Friends in much of the period dealt with.

AN EXTENDED article on "The Quakers and Negro Slavery," by Herbert Aptheker, appears in *The Journal of Negro History*, 25 (1940), 331-362. The author notes particularly the limitations and delay of the Quaker opposition to slavery. Making good use of many secondary sources he traces year by year the references by Quakers to slavery in the Colonial period. More original is his compilation of evidence of the Quaker objection to abolition activities from 1830 to the Civil War. He is right in suggesting that the Hicksites were more active than the Orthodox against slavery, though Coffin and Whittier were not Hicksites (p. 358). Not all Quaker opposition to antislavery societies is to be taken as approval of slavery. More serious was the Quaker attitude towards accepting Negroes as members. The importance of Benezet is rightly stressed (p. 355), as is the Quaker movement to boycott slave-grown commodities. Though far from a definitive or original study this review of the data is fuller than most available accounts.

ALL STAMP COLLECTORS, or at least all Friends among them, are familiar with the special postage stamp issued for Westtown School, but hitherto uncataloged has been the corresponding stamp used by Friends Boarding School at Barnesville, Ohio, and now described after four years' study in an illustrated article by John S. Campbell, Jr., "A Newly Discovered United States Local," in *Scott's Monthly Journal*, 21 (1940), 236-239. Two principal varieties are known, containing inside a border the initials F. B. S. The stamps were used to represent one cent charged for taking each outgoing letter from the school to the station. They were used from May 1878 to June 1884.

THE QUAKER connections of the famous sloop that brought the first Norwegian immigrants to America in 1825 are pretty well known. All new facts about this voyage are of interest to Friends as well as to Norwegian-Americans. Professor Theodore C. Blegen by persistent search in American archives has uncovered some interesting papers, now fully published with facsimiles by the Norwegian American Historical Association under the title *John Quincy Adams and the Sloop "Restoration."* The sloop was seized and its owners were subject to fine because

they had unwittingly violated the United States law requiring five tons of tonnage for every two passengers. The new papers include a petition of the master and two owners—Lars Larsen the Quaker is the first mentioned of the three—asking remission of the penalties. The copy of this in Washington is endorsed in President Adams's own hand; there is a copy of the actual pardon also. It was signed by both Adams and Henry Clay, Secretary of State. When the sloop arrived it was forfeited and libeled but also bonded at the value of $600. The bond now discovered shows us that the New York Quaker Francis Thompson, founder of the packet line between New York and Liverpool, did the immigrants the kindness of going bond for them, thus confirming explicitly the tradition that Quakers befriended them on their arrival in New York.

A BRIEF account of Quaker efforts against slavery up to about 1716 is given by Herbert Aptheker in *Opportunity* 17 (1939), 243 f. under the title "They Began the Fight on Slavery."

ABOUT 1650 Richard Preston built a brick house on his new plantation on the shores on the Nansemond River, Maryland, which is perhaps the second oldest house now standing in the State. This house is called "Charles' Gift." Its owner was one of the principal men in the Colony. He soon became a Friend. In 1663 Charles Calvert, then governor, called him "the Great Quaker." He died in 1669 at the age of fifty-six. Three years later his son James entertained George Fox at the homestead; his grandson was Mayor of Philadelphia in 1711 and Provincial Treasurer of Pennsylvania for twenty years. The present owner of the Maryland homestead is the well-known writer Hulbert Footner. This older history he has woven with his own experiences with the place in an interesting illustrated volume called also *Charles' Gift*, New York, Harper & Bros., 1939, 290 pp.

A BRIEF and imaginative account of William Burling's protest against slavery at Flushing in 1716 is given (with a picture of the meeting house there) by Leonard Twynham under the title "He was First to Speak on Slavery" in *Opportunity*, 17 (1939), 176 f., 190 f.

THE FIRST volume of the new historical series *Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins* is a Festgabe to Christian Neff on his seventieth birthday entitled *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mennoniten* (Weirhof, Pfalz, 1938), and contains an article of interest to Friends: "Kriegsheimer Mennoniten und Quäker in ihrer religiösen Verschiedenheit," by W. Fellmann.

PROFESSOR Bertha-Monica Stearns of Wellesley College contributes to the *New England Quarterly* 13 (1940), 280-304 an article on "John Greenleaf Whittier, Editor." She traces his thirty years as a journalist

from 1829 when he became editor of the *American Manufacturer* until his retirement with the discontinuance of the *National Era* in 1859.

C. C. TISLER contributes to the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 32 (1940), 203-206 a brief account (with portrait) of "Prudence Crandall, Abolitionist." Though a Quakeress at the time of her famous attempt to educate Negro children at Canterbury, Connecticut, she married Calvin Philleo, a Baptist minister, and lived in Illinois; from 1842 to 1865 she lived at Troy Grove, where she founded Philleo Academy; and later at Rock Island. In 1877 she moved to Kansas where she died in 1890. See the article by Alfred Thurston Child, Jr., on her school for Negro girls in the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION 22 (1933), 35-55.

R. H. MACY & CO., Inc., of New York, now for many years the largest single retail store in the world, and notable in other ways, owes its success to the basic policy of the man who founded it in 1858, Rowland H. Macy (1822-1877). In a sketch of "Captain Macy" in the *Harvard Business Review*, 18 (1940), 472-487, Professor Ralph M. Hower includes some reference to the Quaker background of this scion of a well-known Nantucket family.

THE printed *Proceedings* of the Nantucket Historical Association for 1939 includes articles (both illustrated) on Walter Folger, Jr., by Lyman H. Greenman, pp. 27-32, and on "Some Descendants of Kezia Coffin," by Margaret H. Wood, pp. 21-26.

QUAKERS hold a conspicuous place among the persons mentioned in Roscoe R. Leak's article on "The Underground Railroad in Hendricks County" in *Indiana Magazine of History* 36 (1940), 17-22. Addison Coffin, Nathan Hadley, and Thomas Burgess are among those mentioned.

FRED LANDON is the author of a scholarly article (with portrait) on "Benjamin Lundy in Illinois" in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 32 (1940), 57-67. Lundy, who had founded the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in 1821 and lost all his property in the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, migrated in 1838 to Putnam County, Illinois, and died in La Salle County, August 22, 1839.

THE *Bulletin* of the Newport Historical Society no. 101 (Jan. 1940) includes, pp. 53-56, an account of the preparation of the *Inventory of Church Archives of Rhode Island: Society of Friends* by T. Francis Manchester, who was responsible for the work. See this BULLETIN 29 (1940), 61.

"THE Romance of the Pennsbury Manor Restoration" is described by Frank W. Melon, chairman of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, in *Pennsylvania History* vii (1940), 142-152.

FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
1873